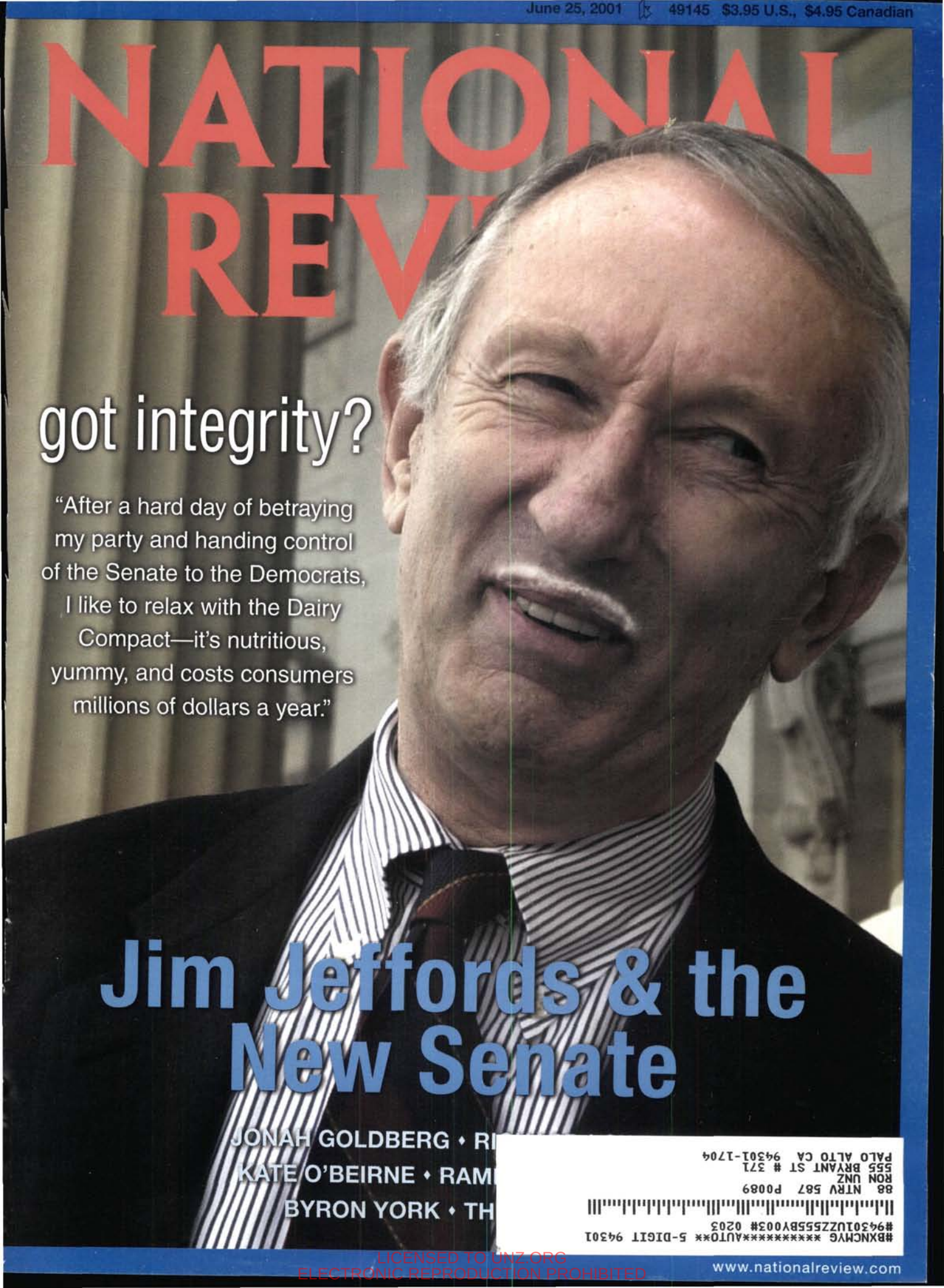
June 25, 2001 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

NATIONAL REVIEW



got integrity?

"After a hard day of betraying my party and handing control of the Senate to the Democrats, I like to relax with the Dairy Compact—it's nutritious, yummy, and costs consumers millions of dollars a year."

Jim Jeffords & the New Senate

JONAH GOLDBERG • RI

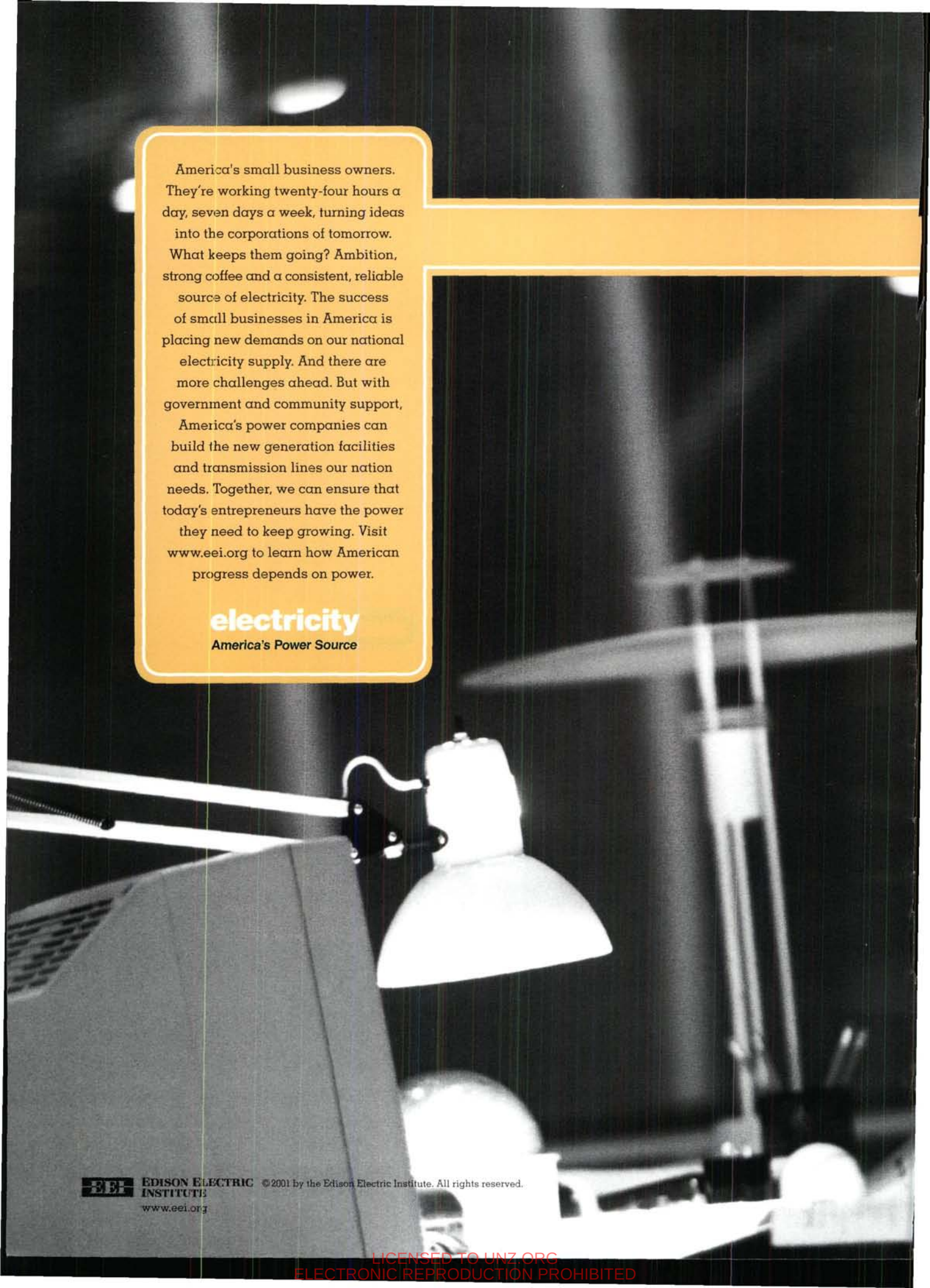
KATE O'BEIRNE • RAM

BYRON YORK • TH

#BXNCMYG ********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BV003# 0203
88 NTRV 587 P0089
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

www.nationalreview.com



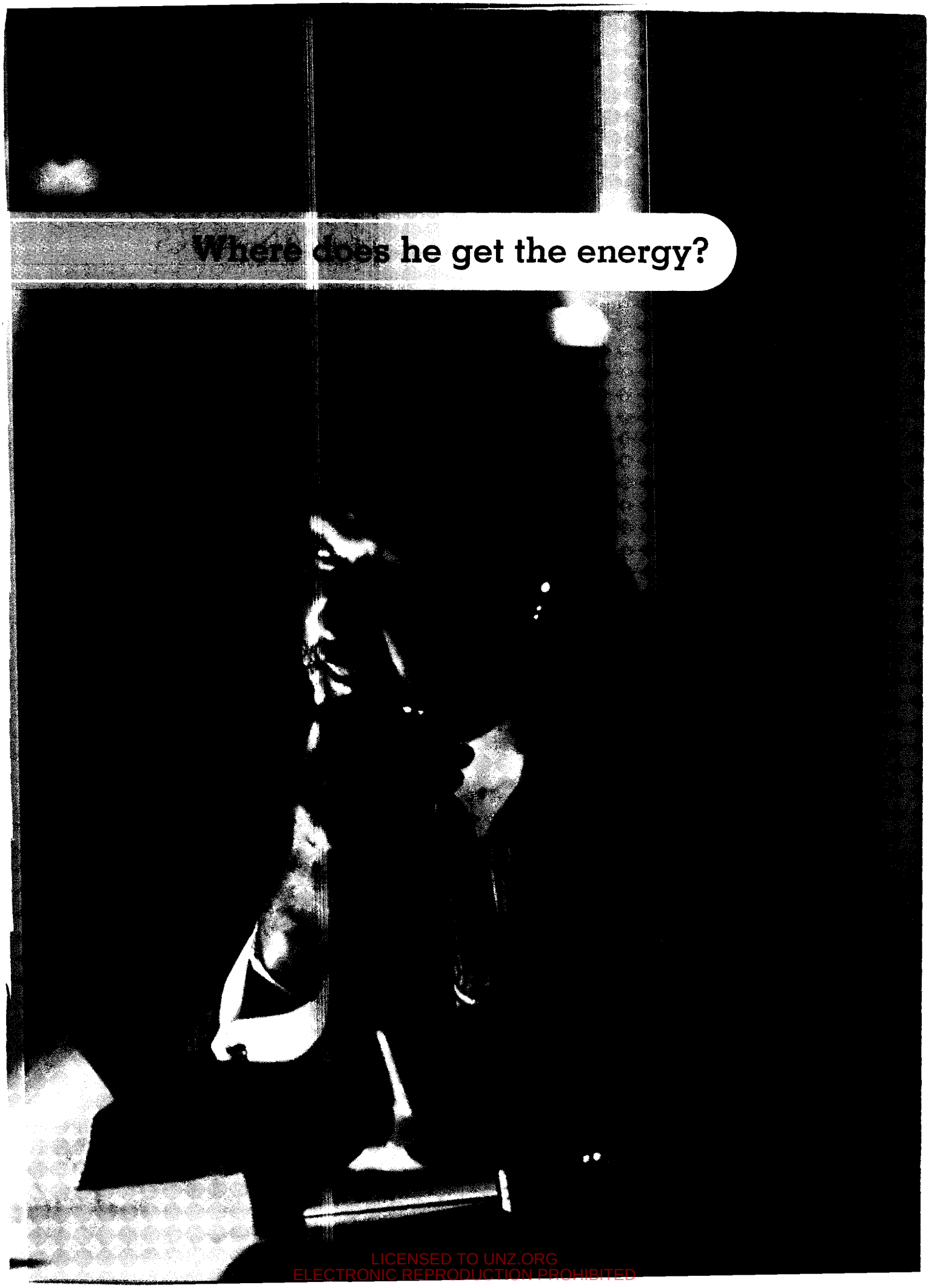
America's small business owners. They're working twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, turning ideas into the corporations of tomorrow. What keeps them going? Ambition, strong coffee and a consistent, reliable source of electricity. The success of small businesses in America is placing new demands on our national electricity supply. And there are more challenges ahead. But with government and community support, America's power companies can build the new generation facilities and transmission lines our nation needs. Together, we can ensure that today's entrepreneurs have the power they need to keep growing. Visit www.eei.org to learn how American progress depends on power.

electricity
America's Power Source

EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE
www.eei.org

©2001 by the Edison Electric Institute. All rights reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

JUNE 25, 2001 VOL. LIII, NO. 12

ARTICLES

20 The Meaning of Switcher Jim *by Richard Lowry*
Sense and nonsense in the Jeffords fallout.

22 Bad Lands *by Byron York*
Why do the Dakotas vote for Dems?

26 November 2002 *by Kate O'Beirne*
The shape of the Senate.

27 Lactose Tolerant *by Jonah Goldberg*
How Jeffords keeps getting milk.

30 The Guns of Vieques *by Michael Fumento*
A very silly, but very trendy, cause.

31 Thanks for the Memories *by John Derbyshire*
Rote is right.

32 De-Demonizing Rum *by Andrew Stuttaford*
What's wrong with 'underage' drinking?

35 Trent Lott, Minority Leader
by Ramesh Ponnuru
Where did he go wrong? And how can he go right again?

38 National Greatness Lite *by John O'Sullivan*
The substance, such as it is, of McCainery.

40 Dirty Wars *by Jay Nordlinger*
The campaign against Reagan's (and W.'s) men.

46 Roots—Deep Ones *by John J. Miller*
The perils of looking into American prehistory.

Cover: Pete Souza/Chicago

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

World Class—*Midge Decter,* **page 48**
Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: Toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century, *by Henry Kissinger*

Retroactivist—*Adam Wolfson,* **page 54**
The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State, *by Michael B. Katz*

Forgotten War—*David Pryce-Jones,* **page 56**
Fields of Light: A Son Remembers His Heroic Father, *by Joseph Hurka*

Let 'em Eat Cake—*John D. Gartner,* **page 58**
As Good As I Could Be: A Memoir of Raising Wonderful Children in Difficult Times, *by Susan Cheever*

Film: Too Many Zeros—*John Simon on* Pearl Harbor, The Road Home, *and* Under the Sand, **page 59**

SECTIONS

6 Letters
8 For the Record
10 The Week
45 The Long View
46 Help!
57 Shelf Life
62 On the Right
64 The Misanthrope's Corner

WORLD WIDE WEB
www.nationalreview.com

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.

©National Review, Inc., 2001.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

19,500 ACRES IS A LOT OF OPEN SPACE.

ESPECIALLY WHEN YOUR STRIDE IS ONLY TWO INCHES LONG.

The Greater Prairie Chicken is one of several species to benefit from the latest conservation effort by Phillips Petroleum. Together with the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation, Phillips will help restore and manage 19,500 acres in northwestern Missouri, making it a safe haven for high-priority birds. Now breeding populations of Greater Prairie Chickens, Henslow's Sparrows and Bobolinks will have an improved chance of survival. And the finished project will become the first of many bird conservation areas to eventually span the country. It's just one more way Phillips works to improve our world and why we're known as The Performance Company.

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM COMPANY

For a copy of our annual report, call 918-661-3700, write to: Phillips Annual Report, B-41, Adams Bldg., Bartlesville, OK 74004, or visit us at www.phillips66.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Because our sisters have heart disease, too.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOMORROW'S CURES

At Pfizer, we're determined to find the cures of the future. A cure for your father's Alzheimer's, your sister's heart disease, your best friend's diabetes. A cure for the ailments that touch all our families. This year we're devoting $5 billion to research and have over 12,000 scientists and health experts searching for the solutions to age-old problems. Why are we so sure the cures can be found? Because at Pfizer we know in our hearts the only thing incurable is our passion.

Pfizer

Life is our life's work.

www.pfizer.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

June 25 issue; printed June 7

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Linda Bridges / Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones

Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Adam Bellow
Executive Editor Dorothy McCartney
Deputy Managing Editor Michael Potemra
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Production Editor Christopher McEvoy
Associate Editors
Julie Crane / Kathryn Jean Lopez / Cristopher Rapp
Research Director John J. Virtes
Assistant Editor Jessica Haggard
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to Mr. Buckley Tony Savage
Assistant to the Editor Elizabeth A. Fitton
Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Melissa A. Seckora
Jane Buckley Smith
Contributing Editors
Elliott Abrams / Hadley Arkes
Tom Bethell / Robert H. Bork / Eliot A. Cohen
Brian Crozier / John Derbyshire
W. H. von Dreele / Andrew Ferguson
Neal B. Freeman / David Gelernter / Jonah Goldberg
John Hillen / Florence King / David Klinghoffer
Lawrence Kudlow / Anthony Lejeune
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Allan H. Meltzer / Stephen Moore
Richard John Neuhaus / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

PRESIDENT
Thomas L. Rhodes

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / James Bowman / David Brudnoy
Priscilla L. Buckley / Richard C. Carpenter
Donald Coxe / John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
John Dizard / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / James Gardner
Roman Genn / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas / D. Keith Mano
Forrest McDonald / Thomas Molnar/ Joe Mysak
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds / Paul Craig Roberts
Peter W. Rodman / Selden Rodman
William A. Rusher / Radek Sikorski
Tracy Lee Simmons / Terry Teachout / S. L. Varnado
Taki Theodoracopulos / Chilton Williamson Jr.

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Vicki Manca
Irina Dynkevich
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330

Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Manager Todd Westover
Account Executive Elizabeth Capano
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

■ LETTERS ■

WHAT'S REALLY UP?

Michael Catanzaro's article "What's Up, Docs?" (May 14) did not belong in NR's "Public Policy" section. It was a political hit piece.

The AMA continues to champion medical-liability reform, but not when it is being crafted merely as a tool to derail a meaningful patients-rights bill. The U.S. Senate, not the AMA, has consistently rejected medical-liability reform. We challenge Mr. Catanzaro to produce a Senate vote count demonstrating that a majority of senators will vote for medical-liability reform consistent with the model statute passed in California.

The AMA is a bipartisan organization, whose policy is developed and approved democratically, something that Mr. Catanzaro does not understand. How could he? He spent all his time talking to HMO lobbyists and never bothered to contact the AMA.

Randolph D. Smoak Jr., M.D.
President, AMA
Washington, D.C.

MICHAEL CATANZARO RESPONDS: *Medical-liability reform is not even listed as one of the AMA's top legislative priorities for 2001. Moreover, the AMA ended its affiliation with the Health Care Liability Alliance, a group dedicated to malpractice reform.*

According to Dr. Smoak, such reforms lack the consensus necessary to garner a majority of votes in the Senate. He is oblivious to the irony of this position: The AMA was largely responsible for defeating three Republican senators (Abraham, Ashcroft, and Gorton) committed to malpractice reform.

The institutional structure of the organization was never an issue. The problem cited in the article is the AMA's leadership, who have, according to Speaker Dennis Hastert, "become toadies of the Democrats."

In my article I quote Dr. Daniel Johnson, a past president of the AMA and former vice-speaker of the AMA's House of Delegates. I also had numerous conversations with congressional staff, independent physicians groups, and health-care experts. HMO lobbyists are not the only group critical of the AMA's political leadership. Maybe that's why the AMA is struggling to be relevant.

THE COMPANY SHE KEEPS

I was rather shocked to find myself, a libertarian, listed by John Derbyshire in the company of homosexuals, Wiccans, and sadomasochists ("Situation Normal," June 11). I am aware that *some* libertarians are also libertines, but most are people who have concluded that a free society is the best guarantor of good morals, just as a free market is of a good economy. It is a highly disturbing slur against faithful readers to compare them with sexual deviants and followers of a concocted religion (and this by an ideological ally, no less).

Heather Hamilton
Alexandria, Va.

THE MEAT WARS . . .

We are a family of conservative vegetarians who take exception to the statement that human teeth are designed for omnivorism ("Well Done," April 30). When was the last time Jonah Goldberg chased down a rabbit, crushed it in his mouth, and devoured it raw?

Henry B. & Marjorie M. Cooke
Millersville, Md.

. . . AND THE MOMMY WARS

Richard Lowry's article on day care ("Nasty, Brutish, and Short," May 28) was terrific, and I agree with him completely. However, the cover was in very poor taste. If my baby made that gesture, he'd be minus an appendage.

Cathy Mac
Bayside, N.Y.

CORRECTIONS

In the June 11 issue, a printing error on page 24 caused the last line of Dave Shiflett's article, "Guzzling, Gorgeous & Grand," to be dropped. The final sentence should have read: "Many of us do not understand how people got such an idea, though we are somewhat comforted we're not the only loons in this dispute."

JACOB HEILBRUNN WRITES: *I stated, in my April 2 piece about David Irving ("Hitler's Historian"), that Gordon Craig does not mention the Holocaust in his book* Germany, 1866–1945. *This was wrong. He addresses it briefly. My apologies.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

©2001, Fannie Mae. All rights reserved. The house logo is a registered mark of Fannie Mae.

Fannie Mae makes affordable mortgage funds available to large and small lenders across America.

Which means the American Dream is available in everyone's hometown.

The Sandovals' dream was a split-level home in Spring, Texas. For the Pearsons, it was a bungalow in Cary, North Carolina. At Fannie Mae, we know the American Dream comes in all shapes and sizes and stretches across large cities and small towns.

FannieMae
www.fanniemae.com

Which is why we make sure lenders of all sizes, from the largest to the smallest, have access to a full range of mortgage products and technology.

For example, our e-commerce strategies allow community banks to offer their customers the full range of Fannie Mae mortgage options, which helps more Americans get into homes of their own.

So no matter which way you turn, Fannie Mae is helping make sure that more families have more choices through lenders both large and small. Which keeps the American Dream thriving in hometowns all across the country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ Party-switching Sen. **Jim Jeffords**, in *Newsweek*: "I don't blame the president as much as I do the Senate leadership." . . . Republican Senate leader **Trent Lott** says there is "something liberating about being in the minority" because Republicans will be "freer to advocate positions and amendments [they] really think should be adopted." . . . Rep. **Chris Shays** (R., Conn.), in Salon.com: "If I were in the Senate, I would want new leadership." . . . NPR's **Nina Totenberg** looks at GOP and sees wife beaters: "The modern Republican party and its moderate wing are in a sort of, to use the psychobabble of the era, in an abusive relationship. . . . The conservatives are the abusers."

■ President **Bush** declines to issue statement marking June as Gay Pride Month, as **Bill Clinton** did during his tenure. . . . Bush at Yale commencement: "Everything I know about the spoken word, I learned right here at Yale." . . . In McLaughlin & Associates poll, 68 percent of blacks and 59 percent of whites say it is "unfair" for Congress to impose 40 percent death tax on estates worth $1 billion. . . . Democratic consultants **Paul Begala** and **James Carville** offer advice in *New York Times*: "The Democrats must work to spend and shrink: spend the money and shrink the tax cut." . . . No House Republicans oppose final tax-cut bill, but two Senate GOPers say nay: **Lincoln Chafee** (R.I.) and **John McCain** (Ariz.). . . . Chafee, on whether he will "absolutely" remain a Republican, in Associated Press: "I can't say 'absolutely' on anything." . . . McCain, on what GOP colleagues talk about, in *USA Today*: "You think they talk to me?"

■ California governor **Gray Davis** (D.) hires **Al Gore**'s top two campaign spokesmen, **Chris Lehane** and **Mark Fabiani**, for $180,000 in taxpayer dollars. When state Republicans object, Democrat **Bob Mulholland** defends move by telling *Washington Times* that former GOP governor **Pete Wilson** "spent similar sums on ruthless campaign operatives of his own." . . . **Yvette Lozano**, former employee of media company hired by Bush campaign, admits to sending debate-preparation tape to Gore adviser and pleads guilty to mail fraud and perjury. . . . In speech, Supreme Court justice **Antonin Scalia** says high court's reputation is not "some shiny piece of trophy armor." Instead, "it's working armor and meant to be used and sometimes dented in the service of the public." . . . Sen. **Ted Kennedy** (D., Mass.), on **Gerald Ford**'s pardon of **Richard Nixon**, in 1974: "The culmination of the Watergate cover-up." . . . Kennedy, this year, following Ford's receipt of the Profile in Courage Award, given in honor of **JFK**: "It took great courage to make that pardon."

■ Bush picks Indiana University art historian **Bruce Cole** to head National Endowment for the Humanities. . . . Outgoing Los Angeles mayor **Richard Riordan** (R.) weighs running for governor of California. . . . In *Miami Herald* poll, Florida governor **Jeb Bush** (R.) leads potential challenger **Janet Reno** (D.) by slim margin, 49 percent to 43 percent. . . . American Indian activist **Russell Means** announces Libertarian party candidacy for governor of New Mexico. . . . Former RNC chairman **Haley Barbour** becomes finance chairman of Senate GOP campaign efforts. . . . Former Clinton spinner **Lanny Davis** gets ride on Air Force One, courtesy of **Karl Rove**.

"Oh, no—Fred's an anti-social conservative."

■ Capital Research Center reports that "corporate support for big-government liberal advocacy is at an all-time high." Five worst offenders are PNC Bank, Sara Lee, May Department Stores, Target Stores, and Freddie Mac. . . . Among four major professional sports, only in baseball did team owners give more money to Democrats than Republicans in 2000, according to *O'Leary Report*: Nearly $2.4 million versus less than $1.2 million. . . . "It's fair to say that there are probably more conversations now between labor and Republicans than at any time in history," says service-union chief **Andrew Stern**, in *New York Times*. "A lot of labor people are saying that being a wing of the Democratic party doesn't work for our members." . . . After meeting with Taiwanese president **Chen Shui-bian**, New York City mayor **Rudy Giuliani** calls Taiwan a "country."

■ Florida police handcuff and remove fifth-grader from elementary school after boy draws pictures of weapons. "The children were in no danger at all," admits principal **David Schmitt**. . . . Original manuscript for *On the Road* by **Jack Kerouac** sells for $2.4 million.

■ CNN reports Chinese president **Jiang Zemin** calls Bush "logically unsound, confused and unprincipled, unwise to the extreme" at high level Communist party meeting. . . . Navy EP-3E surveillance plane remains in China two months after emergency landing on Hainan. . . . Belarusian president **Alyaksandr Lukashenka** says Western countries should stop criticizing his record on individual rights because Belarus helped defeat the Nazis. . . . North Korea threatens to resume missile testing. . . . **Alejandro Toledo** wins Peruvian presidential election, becoming first freely elected leader of Indian descent. . . . Chilean president **Ricardo Lagos** promises to put 2 percent of workforce on public payroll amid unemployment concerns.

■ Songwriter **Denise Rich**, whose ex-husband Marc was pardoned by Clinton, in *Vibe*: "I really believe that inside me there is just this big black person that keeps trying to get out. There is so much soul in R&B, and soul for me is just the most important thing. And I relate to people who have a lot of it." **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The SAT: Blaming the Messenger

E. D. Hirsch Jr. is a professor of education and humanities, University of Virginia; distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; and member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

Opponents of the SAT say we don't know what it measures and hint darkly that it smacks of discredited IQ testing. Decades ago, the distinguished psychometrician John Carroll stated, correctly, that the verbal SAT is an "advanced vocabulary test." At a lower level so are other standardized tests in common use such as the verbal portions of the Stanford 9, the ITBS, the CTBS, and, most significant of all, the well-studied AFQT, taken by those who enter military service. The verbal portions of these tests are highly correlated with one another and with real-world competencies in the armed forces, in college, and in the workplace.

Critics of the SAT concede that it was devised to ensure fairness in admission to elite colleges but that it has become unfair to able students who do not perform well on fill-in-the-bubble tests, to those who belong to ethnic groups and so are on uneasy terms with the cultural assumptions of the verbal SAT, and to those whose parents are not rich enough to pay for the expensive SAT courses that claim to raise scores. The result has been ethnically and racially unrepresentative admission to top universities. These sins against equity are compounded by sins against proper educational goals. Instead of prodding students to think about the civil rights movement or Shakespeare's plays, schools now run cram courses to improve performance on standardized tests.

These are reasonable criticisms, but they are accompanied by vague recommendations for better tests that can disclose deeper skills than those measured by the verbal SAT, or for tests that are based on the school curriculum. Yet **no test of "alternative" skills has proved to be fair and valid.** The idea of using tests based on the school curriculum is more promising, but so far no statewide curriculum is specific enough to permit curriculum-based tests that are fair. Until fair and valid curriculum-based tests are developed, it is irresponsible to abandon a test like the SAT that is valid and fair.

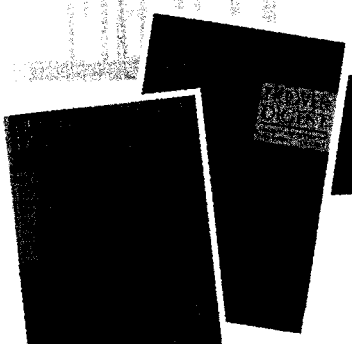
I sympathize with the social motives behind this intellectual irresponsibility. I too want able disadvantaged students to have the opportunity to attend top colleges. But SAT critics have chosen the wrong target. The right target is K–12 public education. The most promising alternative to the SAT—curriculum-based tests—are themselves ultimately means for improving scores on the SAT by improving the underlying vocabulary knowledge that the SAT measures. Statewide curriculum-based tests recently introduced in Virginia have already produced a rise in SAT-style verbal tests.

So I agree that curriculum-based tests offer the most promising way for schools to overcome inequities created by class and caste. But **the virtues of curriculum-based tests in no way invalidate the verbal SAT** or similar tests, which are currently the only good instruments to calibrate the accuracy of curriculum-based tests that are offered as alternatives. If school-based tests do not produce rises in the verbal SAT, then something is wrong with the tests and the schools. Blaming the SAT is a short-sighted way of taking the heat off the public schools to provide genuine equality of educational opportunity.

The answers to these problems are clear: measurement and accountability for results, public support of schools that compete with one another, and parental choice of schools.

— E. D. Hirsch Jr.

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



Interested in more commentary on public policy?

Visit us on-line at **www.hoover.org** *or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ If John McCain does go the third-party route, the name of Teddy Roosevelt's vehicle, Bull Moose, is available. Or he could choose a new second word.

■ The tax cut Congress has passed is disappointing in several respects. It phases in very slowly—the only immediate relief being a one-point drop in income-tax rates. Too much of it (55 percent, according to supply-side economist Alan Reynolds's calculation) is made up of provisions that neither reduce the most damaging tax rates nor lighten the taxation of saving. But the tax cut is still larger than many observers thought possible as recently as January, and it will modestly restrain federal spending. The question now is how President Bush will follow it up. His remaining legislative agenda is uninspiring: a liberal education bill, a mixed bag of an energy plan, a tiny increase in defense spending. Bush will need to take bolder initiatives—including further tax cuts—to get conservatives to the polls in 2002.

■ The administration's defense supplemental spending bill for 2001 is underwhelming after a year of catch-the-falling-flag rhetoric about military readiness in the campaign. The $6 billion bill will address the most dire readiness problems, such as spare parts and fuel for planes, but there is still a shortfall. The relative stinginess of the bill is not a result of the Bush tax cut, as some commentators would have it. Bush is trying to adhere to this year's budget caps, which are not affected by the tax bill. During the Clinton administration, defense supplementals were always the leading edge for additional funding for everything, as spending inevitably ballooned beyond the budget caps. Bush wants to end that process. Fine. But the budget request for next year will be a new day. If Bush doesn't support the additional funding that Secretary Rumsfeld deems necessary not just to patch up current problems, but to build a capable 21st-century force, conservatives will have to conclude that help from the Bush administration will never be on the way.

■ Five months into his administration, Bush is exactly where Clinton was on missile defense: consulting with the Russians. Unless Bush creates a deadline for finally slipping out from under the ABM treaty, we will be in the same spot two or three years from now. The Russians are happy to keep consulting until North Korea has a three-stage ICBM accurate enough to land in Condi Rice's coffee mug. The administration is putting together a package of what are essentially bribes for Moscow—e.g., offering to buy ineffectual Russian S-300 antimissile missiles—and continuing to wheedle and cajole the European allies. But there's no substitute for simple resolve. If it is clear to all that the U.S. considers defending itself against missile attack an indispensable and urgent part of our national security, much of the diplomacy will fall in place. Otherwise, all the administration will ever have to show for its missile-defense rhetoric and plans is: lots of consultation.

■ Would it "fundamentally alter the nature" of golf tournaments for professional golfers to be allowed to ride in a cart instead of walking the course? Good arguments can be made either way, but the PGA Tour had decided that the answer was yes. It therefore declined to make an accommodation for Casey Martin, who has a degenerative disease that prevents him from walking. Now seven justices of the Supreme Court have overruled the Tour's decision. They claim that the Americans with Disabilities Act gives Martin the right to use a cart in Tour events. Since the relevant provisions of the ADA were plainly meant to force enterprises to make accommodations for their disabled *customers*, and not for the people those customers are paying to see, the Court had to define away the distinction: Martin may be considered a "client or customer" of the PGA Tour. Even at that, the ADA allows enterprises not to make accommodations that would fundamentally alter their nature—which is why the Court, in order to rule for Martin, had to issue pronouncements on the essence of golf. Whatever the Court has done to the rules of golf is as nothing compared to what it has done to the rule of law.

■ President Bush made his first visit to California since the presidential campaign, and it too was a campaign stop, this one pitting him against possible 2004 rival Gray Davis on the issue of the California energy crisis. Gov. Davis asked for wholesale price caps, which Bush rejected: "Price controls contributed to the gas lines of the 1970s. And the United States will not repeat the mistake again." Davis had on his side a platoon of economists, including Alfred Kahn, father of airline deregulation, who worry that blackouts in California could set back the cause of electricity deregulation nationwide. Since new power plants are coming online nationwide at a fast clip, Kahn and his peers want to help California utilities over the hump of the summer. Certainly California's road to deregulation has given deregulation a bad name. Wholesale prices were allowed to rise, but retailers were not allowed to pass these rises along to consumers, who would then have felt the conservation pressures of the market. Davis says he wants the wholesale price caps for only 18 months, maximum. But that takes us to a year before the 2004 primary. Will he be in a mood to do a favor for electricity generators then? California is not the nation. Before we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Without Freddie Mac, you'd pay $12,000 more for a mortgage. Assuming you could get one.

What if your chances of getting a mortgage depended on how much your neighbors had in savings?

Don't laugh. That's how the home financing system used to work. Before 1970, local savings deposits were the chief source of mortgage funds. If times were good, your chances were excellent. And if times were bad?

That's when Congress decided a more reliable source of mortgage money was needed. And Freddie Mac was born.

We were charged with creating a stable and growing supply of low-cost mortgage money. A supply that depends more on institutional investors than individual savers.

Today that supply tops $4 trillion. A supply so stable, it withstood the worldwide credit crunch of 1998 and the unprecedented demand for mortgages the same year. And so big, it's driven down the price of conventional mortgages by half a percentage point. Saving the average homeowner with a $100,000 mortgage about $12,000 in interest.

It's made getting a mortgage so easy and affordable that more people can own homes now than ever before.

No matter how much their neighbors have in savings.

Freddie Mac

We Open Doors®

©2000 Freddie Mac

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elevate its governor to the national stage, Californians ought to experience the consequences of his policies.

■ With the jailing of Al Sharpton on federal trespassing charges, the controversy over the Navy's training exercises on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques has been reduced to a farce. Sharpton is now on a fast to protest the service's behavior, declaring, "The Navy is Bull Connor." His appetite for publicity is fully sated. There has been a steady stream of sympathetic visitors to the jailhouse in New York: former mayor David Dinkins, Rep. Charlie Rangel, and Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton have all gone. Gov. George Pataki, not to be outdone in pandering to local Puerto Rican opinion at the expense of national security, has joined the chorus, calling Sharpton's 90-day sentence "far more severe than necessary." The Navy insists that its combat readiness depends on using the island for exercises coordinating air and sea operations, as has been done for 60 years. When President Clinton suspended that training, during Hillary's campaign, the commander of the Sixth Fleet declared that "the loss of Vieques would cost American lives." Al Sharpton's 90-day diet will put him in fighting shape; the Navy needs to stay in fighting shape too.

■ President Bush asked the International Trade Commission, a federal agency, to investigate whether the steel industry deserves protection from imports. The steel industry could have asked the ITC to investigate; the purpose of an administration request is to lean on it to reach an affirmative conclusion. The legal case for that conclusion is weak. The ITC would have to show that the industry has both suffered "serious injury" and that this injury was "substantially caused" by foreign competition. Since only parts of the domestic steel industry are troubled, and imports have been falling, it seems unlikely that imports are what's hurting the industry. The economics of steel protection is even more dubious, since there are only 160,000 workers in the industry—and 50 times as many people work for industries that use steel and would suffer from higher steel prices. The only argument for protection is political: The part of the industry that is not competitive is in West Virginia, which went narrowly for Bush, and in vote-rich Ohio and Pennsylvania. American presidents often, and rightly, try to persuade foreign leaders to bring down trade barriers, even though they may endure economic dislocation and political hardship. One may forgive these leaders if their attention sometimes wanders during these lectures.

■ The most important thing to know about the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's new report on the Florida vote is that it fails to authenticate a single case of actual voter discrimination, despite taking months to do precisely that. The language is nonetheless bombastic, designed to generate a few stories from uncritical journalists eager to question the legitimacy of President Bush's election. If the report were a serious effort to understand what happened in Florida, chairwoman Mary Frances Berry—a strong supporter of Al Gore during the election—would have waited for formal responses from Gov. Jeb Bush and Secretary of State Katherine Harris before leaking her document to the press. She also would have shown it to the two GOP-appointed members of the commission; they didn't receive copies until after handpicked members of the media had theirs. One of these Republicans, Russell Redenbaugh, is blind. It would have been a matter of simple decency to give him a copy in advance, so that he might have sufficient time to absorb its contents. But there's nothing civil about this commission.

■ Did die-hard Clintonistas trash the White House complex on their way out of power? In January, Bush spokesman Ari Fleischer said they had, but the president pulled back on all the talk, saying there had been just "a prank or two." When congressman Bob Barr asked the General Accounting Office to investigate, the White House, eager to move on, didn't cooperate. So the GAO sent Barr a letter saying that a quick inspection showed no "significant damage" to the White House, by which it meant the physical structure. Taking that as a complete exoneration, former White House spokesman Jake Siewert and other Clinton veterans demanded an apology for the damage to their reputations (!). Challenged, the Bush White House now says vandalism did indeed occur, citing obscene graffiti, severed phone lines, and broken computer keyboards. This time, the administration promises to give GAO investigators documentation of the damage. That's a good idea, something it should have done the first time around. If you're going to tangle with the Clinton team, you'd better be prepared to fight.

■ Is it fair that Jenna and Barbara Bush got misdemeanor charges, and national attention, for trying to buy margaritas in an Austin bar? Thousands of 19-year-olds do the same; most avoid the first, and all avoid the second. But the Bushes are the daughters and granddaughters of presidents; their father had a drinking problem; and they are camera-friendly. They are old enough to vote; they are also old enough to recognize that, even if many of the people they know break the

Cheer Up, Dear Hearts

My sources say the script's like so:
Bob Torricelli, moaning low
(The Feds have ways to make one sing),
Denies those gifts mean anything.
Now pan to Daschle's brand-new digs
Where moving-men are doing jigs
Till, poof! Lott's back again with Cokie
And Torricelli's in the pokey.

—W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Leather-Bound Books From Easton Press

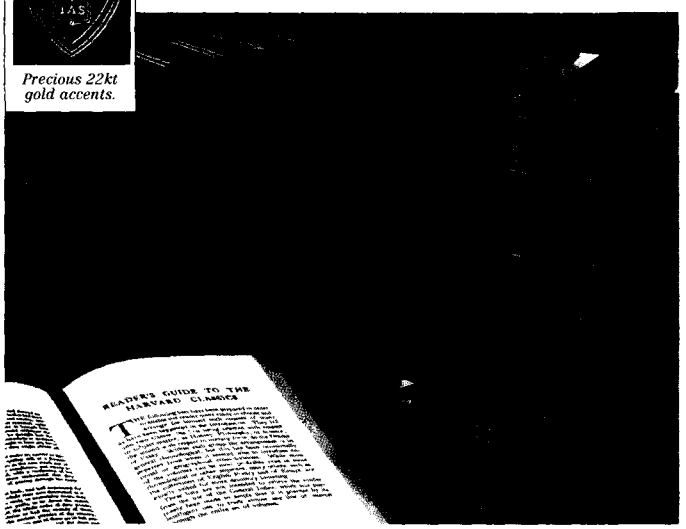
Great Works, Custom Bound in Genuine Leather, Accented With Precious 22KT Gold.

Exclusive Collector's Editions that are as beautiful to see as they are to read.

Precious 22kt gold accents.

HARVARD CLASSICS

The legendary "Five-Foot Shelf of Knowledge"... now, in the exclusive leather-bound edition.



In 1910, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, put together an extraordinary library of "all the books needed for a real education."

Known as *The Harvard Classics*, this honored collection encompasses more than 2,000 years of the world's greatest poetry, drama, history, philosophy, scripture and more. These are the works that have shaped our thoughts, our language...our very lives. The full 50-volume set brings together more than 1,850 works by over 300 masters of thought and letters.

This edition features an astonishing wealth of illustrations, including reproduced manuscripts by famous authors. The set features Dr. Eliot's Reader's Guide and a General Index containing upwards of 18,000 entries.

- The original Harvard Classics in the only leather-bound edition available today.
- Inside covers are inlaid with exquisite filigree border.

Just $55.20 per volume. • You will receive and be billed for a new book each month. • Size of books is 6" x 9".

COMPLETE WORKS OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY

Ernest Hemingway is the greatest American writer of the twentieth century and a Nobel Prize winner for literature. Astonishingly, there has never been a complete collection of Hemingway elsewhere—not in hardcover, not in paperback. This 20-volume deluxe leather-bound library, with precious 22kt-gold accents on the spines, includes every Hemingway book ever published.

- All the great novels—*The Sun Also Rises, A Farewell to Arms, For Whom the Bell Tolls* and *The Old Man and the Sea.*
- All the great short stories—*The Snows of Kilimanjaro, The Undefeated* and the Nick Adams stories.
- All the great non-fiction—*Death in the Afternoon* and *A Moveable Feast.*
- All the celebrated journalism, too.

20-volume set. • Just $49.75 per volume. You will receive and be billed for a new book each month.
Size of books is 6½" x 9½".

GENUINE LEATHER BINDINGS

In this age of mass production, Easton Press keeps alive the grand old tradition of crafting books in leather. Our books are fully bound in genuine, premium leather by skilled American craftsmen. They are not sold in any stores.

22KT GOLD ACCENTS

Each luxurious leather binding is deeply inlaid with real gold on the traditional "hubbed" spine. Elegant designs adorn the front and back covers. The pages are gilded along all three sides with a special golden finish for beauty and protection against dust.

ELEGANCE MADE TO LAST FOR GENERATIONS

The pages are "Smyth-sewn" for strength and durability. The paper is high quality, acid-neutral, so it won't yellow with age. Each volume has beautiful endsheets of rich moiré fabric and a matching satin ribbon page marker.

AN INCREDIBLE VALUE

These volumes rival anything seen in the great private libraries of days gone by. Yet, because we sell directly to subscribers, you can buy one for not much more than the price of a regular hardcover book.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

With Easton Press you take no risks. You may return any volume within 30 days for a full and prompt refund. Imagine these luxurious books on your library shelves. Bring richness into your home; order today.

The Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue, Norwalk, Connecticut 06857

Easton Press
47 Richards Ave.
Norwalk, CT 06857

Call Toll-Free:
1-800-367-4534
24 hours a day

Fax us at: (203) 831-9365
email: orders@eastonpress.com

Yes, please send me the first book in the following sets:

☐ Harvard Classics — 1 book/month @$55.20
☐ Hemingway Set — 1 book/month @ $49.75

Please charge my book(s) to my credit card:

☐ **Visa** ☐ **MasterCard** ☐ **Discover** ☐ **Am.Ex.**

Credit Card Number _____ **Expiration Date** _____

☐ I wish to pay for my books by check. Enclosed is my check for my first books(s),payable to Easton Press.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____
(All orders are subject to acceptance)

Prices include shipping and handling within the U.S.A. Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.

M103

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rules, they can't. But what about those rules? Seven decades after Prohibition ended, the Puritanism of American life, which often confuses worthy and unworthy objects, is creeping to reclaim it. The drinking age was raised nationwide to 21 at the urging of Elizabeth Dole when she was transportation secretary; there are calls to bump it up again, to 24. The justification for the campaign, as with the war on tobacco, is health and safety. But the campaign is also impelled by fitness fetishism and the national impulse to baby-sit. One ill-judged Prohibition recalls another. Suppose the drug the Bush girls—and their father—had indulged in had not been alcohol, but marijuana?

■ When President Clinton and President-elect Bush met for transition talks, the former reportedly told the latter that he had misjudged Yasser Arafat, who was in fact neither willing nor able to impose a peace policy on his followers. Didn't anyone tell Colin Powell? In the wake of the Tel Aviv disco bombing, the secretary of state warned Israel to choose a "measured response," while demanding that Arafat "bring the violence under control." Israel *has* been measured (when Americans died in a 1986 disco bombing in Berlin, Ronald Reagan bombed Libya); Arafat will talk and do nothing. Four prime ministers ago, Israel began the Oslo peace process with Arafat, which ended in the Palestinian's resounding no. The current violence is an outgrowth of that no. The violence will continue until the Palestinians realize it is not in their interest—at which point, the diplomats could try again. A former general should understand that.

■ One of the happiest developments of the modern age has been the settling-down into easygoing comity of the nations of Europe, after 1,500 years of suspicion, intrigue, and war. Yet the new atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect is not enough to satisfy the ideologues of "the European idea." French prime minister—and lifelong socialist—Lionel Jospin recently delivered an address setting out his own vision for the future of the Continent. Declares Jospin: "Europe is first and foremost a political undertaking" which "must proclaim a societal program." What program would that be? "It is not acceptable for member states to practice unfair tax competition . . . We must reduce job insecurity and fight discrimination . . . Strong and efficient public services . . . Strong industrial goals . . . The economy must be organized in a more equitable manner . . . Prevent private-sector interests from stifling the general interest . . . free education . . . commitment to cultural diversity . . . a common policy [on culture] not defined by the rules of competition and the market . . . " Jospin, let it be noted, is regarded in Europe as one of the less ardent centralizers. His vision of a corporatist superstate, with a planned economy and French levels of welfare provision and job protection, is *moderate* by Euro-ideological standards. The peoples of Europe can congratulate themselves on having learned to get along with one another at last. Why the further maintenance of peace and friendship requires "a political undertaking" run by armies of socialist bureaucrats is, however, not clear to us.

■ As if to underline David Pryce-Jones's argument ("*Toujours l'antiaméricanisme*," June 11) that the French elite is a corrupt gang that bashes the U.S. in part to deflect unwelcome attention from itself, a French court sentenced five bigwigs for bleeding Elf Aquitaine, the formerly state-owned oil company. The headline defendants were Roland Dumas, a former foreign minister, and Christine Deviers-Joncour, his mistress, who is a former underwear model and Elf lobbyist who made millions and kicked some of them back to her *copain*. Investigations are proceeding, and other members of the political elite are shivering in the cross hairs. This is the nation that couldn't understand Americans' yahoo disapproval of Bill Clinton.

■ It ought to be pleasant enough to stay at the Ritz in Paris, and so Dr. Henry Kissinger thought. He was there in the course of a lecture tour, and paying 9,000 francs for his suite. But there came a nighttime knock on the door from police officers who were delivering a summons for him to present himself for questioning at the Palais de Justice. A French magistrate by the name of Roger Le Loire is pursuing a campaign about five French people supposedly kidnapped or murdered in Chile during the Pinochet era. This was the first Kissinger had heard of it, and he went round to the American embassy, where someone in due course robustly informed M. Le Loire to direct his questions through official channels to the Washington authorities. Kissinger, it may be thought, can look after himself. But it's a significant step in the process under way of setting up international courts, whose jurisdiction is nowhere and everywhere. Then it will be open to all petty magistrates to go on fishing expeditions like M. Le Loire's against anybody and everybody whose military or political activity they don't care for. That should empty visitors out of the Ritz, and everywhere else too.

■ Want proof that the Federalist Society has lit a fire under the established legal order? Look no farther than the Madison Society for Law and Policy—a newly launched liberal "counter" to the conservative legal group. Here is Madison president Peter Rubin: "We view it as a counter to the Federalist Society, which has been extraordinarily successful in taking, in some cases, extreme views, views outside of the mainstream, and moving them into the center stage of American law." Time was, "counter" groups were necessarily conservative; the Olin, Scaife, and Bradley foundations were antidotes to the liberal leviathans—Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller. A Federalist Society exists only because liberals run the law schools.

■ Is C. S. Lewis's publisher trying to de-Christianize the Narnia stories? HarperCollins, which owns the rights to Lewis's books, has embarked on a major repackaging and remarketing strategy, and hopes that the Narnia tales will profit from the interest in J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter books. The charge of religious cleansing comes from Carol Hatcher, who hoped to produce a PBS documentary on Lewis that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would have accompanied the re-launch. She cites a corporate memo arguing that "no attempt . . . be made to correlate the stories to Christian imagery/theology." HarperCollins calls her charge "fatuous" and "crazy." Lewis fans should hold their fire until they see what his publisher actually does (most memos, after all, end up in the wastebasket). Lewis himself would probably be amused at the fracas. As a literary scholar, he knew the resilient power of stories, which can outfox their critics and even their tellers. The Christian story, like God Himself, works in mysterious ways.

■ Actress Anne Heche is engaged to marry Coleman Laffoon, a cameraman she met while filming a documentary on the lesbian comedian Ellen DeGeneres. DeGeneres, of course, was Heche's lover for three years. DeGeneres has attributed their breakup to the monster publicity they received—as if "we were the only lesbians on the planet"—though it seems Heche is not a lesbian after all. This is not supposed to happen: The gay party line is that people come in two immutable categories, straight and gay, and the only motion between them occurs when a gay person throws off his straight false consciousness. But love and desire turn out to be more multiform than modern heterodoxy allows.

■ Toni Morrison, giving the commencement address at Smith, warned the class of 2001 that an "unholy trinity" of "political interests, corporate interests, [and] military interests" could midwife fascism. Why didn't Morrison mention artists? Fascism, after all, took its inspiration from artists like Wagner and d'Annunzio; it was implemented by creative types like Hitler (painter) and Mussolini (journalist, novelist); and it was applauded, during its salad days, by artists and intellectuals like Céline, Hamsun, Pound, and Heidegger. The common complaint of all these figures was that the industrial bourgeois state was corrupt and soulless—the very complaint of Toni Morrison against the very state that has stuffed her with honors and riches.

■ Our Victim of the Month is poor Bethany Halliday, a London actress who auditioned for a part in Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta *The Pirates of Penzance*. Readers may recall that the operetta features one Major-General Stanley ("the very model of a modern major-general") and his bevy of virginal daughters, who scream every time they see a man. Halliday auditioned for a part as one of these innocent maidens. Unfortunately, she is currently pregnant, and by the end of the show's run her condition would have been very obvious indeed. On these grounds, the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company turned her down for the part. She promptly sued. Said the company's general manager: "We are defending ourselves on the grounds that producers should have the right to make decisions commensurate with common sense." Common sense? Lots of luck.

■ Since 1921 an eternal flame has been burning beneath the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, in commemoration of the nation's war dead. Naturally a display of such dignity and high purpose has not gone unmolested by the more asinine elements among the tourist classes. In 1997 an Australian was arrested for trying to cook an egg over the flame. The following year a Mexican soccer fan actually managed to extinguish it with a glass of "unspecified liquid." On May 29 new depths of pestilential silliness were plumbed when a prankster tried to put out the flame by *sitting on it*. The offender was quickly pulled off, but not before suffering burns that required hospital treatment. You can make up your own jokes about hot pants, fire in the belly, and so on; but pause to contemplate, for one terrifying moment, the fact that you are a member of the same species as a creature so unfathomably stupid that he attempted to snuff out a commemorative flame with his own fundament.

POLITICS

After Jeffords

WHAT should Republicans do now that James Jeffords has left the GOP and given the Democrats control of the Senate? The usual suspects have the same helpful advice as ever: move left. President Bush alienated Jeffords by governing from the right, and must now—the moralistic impulse is palpable—expiate his sin.

Jeffords's comments on his way out the door lent credence to this line of analysis. But Jeffords's self-presentation was patently phony. He said that education was the issue that, more than any other, had made him uncomfortable in the Republican party. But Republicans have hardly been moving right on that issue. Bush has been so eager to reach out to Democrats that his education bill got more Democratic votes than Republican ones in the House—the very week Jeffords left the GOP. Yet Jeffords had been willing to stay in the party when its platform called for abolishing the Department of Education.

Jeffords's departure, it is true, is a blow to President Bush's chances of getting conservative initiatives through the Senate. But it is not as big a blow as it was to lose Spence Abraham's seat last November. Or John Ashcroft's. Or Rod Grams's. Those losses reduced the number of conservative votes in the Senate. Jeffords's defection does not. Democratic control of the Senate means that Tom Daschle can put his party's favored issues on the agenda—but those issues, from the patients' bill of rights to prescription-drug subsidies, were bound to come up even if Republicans had retained the majority.

The White House may be tempted to make deals with Senate Democrats in order to build a record of bipartisan accomplishment. Some deals may indeed be necessary, for example to win Democratic support for presidential nominations. But if the White House adopts dealmaking as its grand strategy—or, worse, plays the Democratic Senate and the Republican House against each other—Bush's party will be divided and conservatives will be demoralized. Republicans

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would probably lose more Senate seats in 2002, and the House as well. Bush would then find it even harder to accomplish anything, both because his foes would have more votes and because the election would be interpreted as a loss of public confidence in him. And he would then have to run in 2004 with an even more demoralized base.

The alternative strategy would have a mostly united Republican party push for conservative initiatives such as private accounts for Social Security, missile defense, and a ban on late-term abortions. If Democrats balk, Republicans would take their case to the public. Bush may not be temperamentally inclined toward such a strategy. Neither was his father. If he does not pursue it, however, he may end up doing something even less appealing: staying on defense for the rest of a one-term presidency.

POLITICS II

McCain's Confusions

DURING the primaries last year, John McCain presented himself as a pro-life, tax-cutting Reagan conservative. True, he departed from Republican orthodoxy in supporting campaign-finance regulation; and the tax cut he offered was more modest than the one George W. Bush did. But even these positions were presented as helpful to the larger conservative cause: His campaign-finance bill would reduce the power of special interests to block conservative policies, and a smaller tax cut would leave money to finance a free-market reform of Social Security. He even added that he would support a bigger tax cut if revenues kept growing.

McCain's views were evolving during the primaries: He ended the campaign with a denunciation of religious conservatives (or at least those who opposed his candidacy), who used to be his allies. McCain's evolution has continued since then. He has co-sponsored, with Democrats, bills to regulate HMOs and subject them to lawsuits, to re-regulate the airlines, and to impose restrictions on gun ownership. He was one of two Senate Republicans to vote against Bush's tax cut—even though revenues have in fact grown since the primaries.

Where once McCain portrayed special interests as the enemies of conservatives, now he appears to consider them synonymous. When James Jeffords left the Republican party, McCain said that he had been driven out by K Street lobbyists who tried to enforce party orthodoxy. He seemed almost gleeful that the Republicans had lost the Senate majority, which is odd for a Republican senator.

Unless McCain no longer wants to be a Republican senator. Early June saw a resurgence of persistent speculation that McCain would run for president, against Bush, as an independent in 2004. This speculation was apparently fueled by McCain acolytes, and the senator himself poured cold water on it. But McCain seems increasingly convinced that the GOP is hopelessly corrupt, so the possibility of an independent run cannot be discounted. If the 2004 race is close, McCain would not need to win millions of votes to make a difference. McCain's advisers would then be vindicated in their view of the senator as the latter-day incarnation of Teddy Roosevelt—but the Democratic presidential nominee would play the part of Woodrow Wilson.

An independent run by McCain would make sense if he were developing a distinctive, compelling political agenda that the established party duopoly refused to act on. But this is not the case. The patients' bill of rights does not lack for supporters; indeed, the Republicans and Democrats agree more than they disagree on the issue. Where they disagree, as on tax cuts, it is honest convictions rather than nefarious special interests that explain their division.

Is McCain's developing ideology even coherent? It is hard to see the underlying principle that links his new positions—since pique at President Bush is not a principle. McCain's vaunted independent thinking somehow always seems to lead to conclusions that appeal to the *New York Times*. His rhetorical invocations of patriotism and citizenship are not matched by any concrete proposals that would combat racial balkanization or devolve power from the federal government to communities. Vanity and resentment are not a platform.

THE HONEYMOONERS?

We don't think there were any news photos taken of the McCain-Daschle weekend down at the Arizonan's ranch, so we asked our Roman Genn to imagine the scene.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRITAIN

Betting on Blair

LADBROKES, the grand British bookie, took the unprecedented step of paying out winnings before a race was even over. The race in question was the British general election, in which a landslide for Tony Blair's "New Labour" government was so taken for granted that betting on it counted as a sure thing. Still more remarkably, the focus of interest for public and pundits was not the New Labour thoroughbred cantering toward a comfortable triumph but the battered old Tory nag struggling to stay in second place with about 30 percent of the popular vote in the final pre-election polls. As Matthew Parris of the London *Times* pointed out, people were voting for a government they do not love in part because they want to inflict a second catastrophic defeat on a Tory opposition they seemingly despise.

The main result of this is likely to be a very short honeymoon for Blair, as the electorate, having indulged its anti-Tory spleen, wakes up to realize that it still has long waiting lines for surgery, declining educational services, the prospect of absorption into a European federal state, and a government that prefers public-relations "spin" to public debate over its policies.

For the moment, however, it is the Tories' plight that invites analysis. "They're out of the mainstream on the euro," claim the government, the Brussels bureaucrats, and the dwindling band of left-wing Europhiliac Tories. Unfortunately for this argument, both the opinion polls and the experience of doorstep canvassers make plain that keeping the pound is almost the only popular policy the Tories have. "William Hague is bitterly disliked by the voters—he looks like a fetus in a suit; he's too elitist; he's too short" goes another argument from,

A Day in the Life . . .

WE shall never have satisfactory explanations for the Bill Clinton phenomenon. No amount of disgrace prevents him from continuing to play to the gallery. For their part, people seem to have a morbid fascination with anyone who can do things that they could never bring themselves to do. So it was when the ex-president blew into Hay-on-Wye in the course of a trip round Britain. He had come from Omagh, scene of the worst terrorist carnage in Ulster, and from fixing Chelsea up with a place at Oxford University, and a day or two later he was off golfing at St Andrews. Everywhere he seemed to be enclosed in a seamless bubble of fantasy.

Hay is a special place, a picturesque little town on the border between England and Wales, a center for the area's farming community but also famous for its secondhand bookshops and its annual literary festival. Thirteen hundred people from far and wide had paid 100 pounds to hear Clinton talk at this festival on the subject of conflict resolution, and five hundred also paid 250 pounds to dine with him afterwards. No equivalent world figure has ever been to Hay before.

A romantic semi-ruin of a castle dominates the town, and a stately tent was erected on its grounds for this occasion. On a perfect summer evening, the crowds began to gather and to wait. The buzz in the air slowly ebbed. Clinton was a good hour late. Ticket-holders under the tent started that sarcastic British protest, the slow hand-clap, and bystanders in the street eventually booed him. The public received neither explanation nor apology.

To borrow a famous quip, he is a self-made man deeply in love with his maker. But there is no sign that he has any idea of who he really is or what was the purpose of holding high office. Ego rushes to fill the vacuum within. For him, the Middle East, Ireland, Bosnia and Kosovo, Rwanda and Haiti, are stage sets on which to strike poses. As he talked, conflict resolution dwindled into a chain of platitudes so trite that meaning has long since been washed out of them. Move the heart and change the world. Celebration of diversity. Ability to trust. Isolation no longer an option. A shared vision of the 21st century. Robert Wright influenced him greatly, he claimed, with the argument that "in a globalized world we have to ask if we believe in the ethic of interdependence."

Paul McCartney and Van Morrison were also due to attend this festival, which prompted Clinton to remark, "That's a big deal for a child of the Sixties like me." Next to him was an anchorman, a BBC television journalist, and when the talk was over he explained that there would be questions, but ones "aggregated" in advance and "synthesized." Clinton's style of sentimentality and bathos now ran freer still. A peace process is a journey, not a destination. He would continue to "work around the edges in countries where it is appropriate." When it came to achieving peace, he actually said, "We must try." Seeking to pander to the locals, he misquoted Dylan Thomas ("You're quite blessed, you Welsh, to have him"), concluding, "I don't think you should go gently. If I did, I'd have gone long ago." How could anyone be at once so spent and so arrogant? A kind of baffled pity settled over the audience.

Dinner was under another tent, and on the way over there under a starry sky Clinton delayed to shake more hands. By the time he sat down, 500 poussins were thoroughly overcooked. It was around two in the morning before he at last returned to Oxford, at least a couple of hours away. A newspaper reported that his entourage had asked a local hotel for a payment of 5,000 pounds for the privilege of putting him up. The rumor was believable because the entire act at Hay—the whole seamless bubble of fantasy—was salesmanship of a high order. From this rural festival Clinton took away a check for about 90,000 pounds. Not bad for a child of the Sixties. His last words to the paying diners were, "I'd like to stay longer." A voice from the back shouted, "Liar!"

—DAVID PRYCE-JONES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among others, supporters of rivals for his Tory leader's job. Polls suggest there's something in this argument, but one suspects Hague is more a scapegoat for anti-Tory animus than its cause.

The Tories have never been loved. They are the party that specializes in telling unpleasant truths and dealing with intractable problems. In the last 100 years, they have been brought into office to deal with grave national crises four times; they have entered government from opposition amid tranquillity only once.

Two obstacles prevent them from playing their accustomed role today. First, the Tories lost their reputation for economic competence under John Major when they inflicted a recession on the British economy by sticking rigidly to a fixed European exchange rate (a sort of precursor to the euro), were humiliatingly forced out of it by the currency markets on "Black Wednesday," and were accordingly unable to gain credit from the economic boom that followed this financial liberation. Second, that boom continues today. So there is no grave crisis for them to solve.

Another crisis will surely come along—perhaps a replay of Black Wednesday if Britain joins the euro. When it does, Labour will lose its recent reputation for competence. And the Tories will again be available to restore the family finances. Until then, bet on Blair.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Regarding the appropriateness of your use of "uxorious" in describing Mrs. Clinton's docility, the *Oxford English Dictionary* offers "maritorious," and defines it as "fond of one's husband."

The usage example provided—*dames maritorious ne'er were meritorious*—would seem to incorporate sufficient verbal spandex to accommodate the concept of an excess of devotion.

Cordially,
Mark Kearney
Marriottsville, Md.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Long ago I was taught that "quote" is a verb and "quotation" is a noun.

Now I find that even NATIONAL REVIEW is referring to quotations as quotes.

May I quote your opinion on the matter?

With thanks,
Douglas Yeo
Lexington, Mass.

Dear Mr. Yeo: My notion is that "quote" as a noun is authorized by usage. E.g., "He finished with a nice quote from Churchill."

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: The other day, while reading a magazine article, I came across the following sentence: "The development of moral knowledge demands that each of us *answers* [italics mine] the ultimate Socratic question, 'Who am I, and what should I do with my life?'"

It would seem that the "that" before "each of us" mandates "answer" rather than "answers." I've checked with several of my more literate friends to no avail.

Hence this appeal to you, my Supreme Court of proper usage.

Very truly yours,
John Elfmont, M.D.
Torrance, Calif.

Dear Dr. Elfmont: I'd use *answer* because the construction is hortatory, as in, "I demand that he answer that question." The hortatory demands the subjunctive form.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: As careful as you, personally, are about respecting the English language, how do things such as the following get by: ". . . with some external controls. In the form, for example, of that police officer. More of them . . ." (NR, April 16, page 12)?

Has the rule requiring that a sentence contain a subject and a predicate been repealed? Stranger things are happening: the now ubiquitous "between [or any other preposition] he and I," and, "This state is a good place to live." One can live a life, but a state . . .?

When English-speaking Americans have lost the use of the preposition, which was originally introduced to take the place of the case endings of the Continental English noun, what do you suppose will replace it, if anything?

Perhaps the speakers will no longer have thoughts complex enough to require prepositions.

Yours truly,
Russell McFadden
West Columbia, Tex.

Dear Mr. McFadden: You give three examples of uses you object to. Only the first, that I know of, has appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW. And it is as easily defended as to say that there are exceptions to the rule you cite. "What ho!" would be one of them.

The second and third are inexcusable, wherever they appeared. In *The Sopranos*?

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Given your view of the horrendous, immoral, sordid content of *The Sopranos*, why are you (or anyone else) watching?

God help us!

Yours,
Virgil F. Massman
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mr. Massman: It's quite possible to continue to watch something you disapprove of. One reason that one disapproves is that what is viewed (or read) is enticing.

Cordially,

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION 23rd ANNUAL

NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE STUDENT CONFERENCE

JULY 22-28, 2001 • AMERICAN UNIVERSITY • WASHINGTON, DC

AT THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE STUDENT CONFERENCE YOU WILL:

- Meet other like-minded students from across the country
- Receive valuable resource materials that you can use throughout your college career and beyond
- Meet and ask questions of your conservative heroes
- Gain a better understanding of conservatism and its principles
- Improve your critical thinking and debate skills
- Engage in discussions – led by you! – with students, speakers, and Young America's Foundation staff

REGISTRATION FEE $250

"I was able to eat lunch with conservative idols of mine and ask them questions. This opportunity helped to reinforce my own views and gave me the ammunition to combat the leftist bias so prevalent in the classroom today."

Christy Ciniglio ~ *Pepperdine University*

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CALL 800-292-9231. ALSO ASK ABOUT:

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

F.M. Kirby Freedom Center
110 Elden Street
Herndon, VA 20170
800-292-9231
www.yaf.org

The Reagan Ranch
812B Anacapa Street
Santa Barbara, CA 93101
877-797-7325

National High School Leadership Conference

June 20-24, 2001 • Marymount University • Arlington, VA

The National High School Leadership Conference is similar to the Foundation's great conferences for college students, but is geared specifically for high school-aged students. The conference will reinforce your conservative ideas and introduce you to the Conservative Movement. You'll meet other students your age with similar beliefs and learn from the nation's leading conservatives! The registration fee for this five day conference is just $150. ***Call for more information!***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER STORY ■

The Meaning of Switcher Jim

Sense and nonsense in the Jeffords fallout

RICHARD LOWRY

IT'S the South Carolina primary and the John Ashcroft nomination rolled into one—with a dash of arsenic thrown in. It's an occasion for all the independent minds—namely, the media, Democrats, and GOP moderates—to make every argument possible for one grand proposition: that the Bush operation, and the Republican party generally, are just too right-wing. It's an occasion for Rick Berke of the *New York Times* to talk to all these independent minds and file a report: Dateline Washington—Everyone agrees, the Bush Republicans are just too right-wing. It's an event that will live on for months, if not years, as support for every hostile cliché about the GOP—it's the apotheosis of Jim Jeffords, patron saint of bipartisan toleration.

It used to be that it took a Willie Horton ad or an attack on Murphy Brown to get a Republican labeled as "intolerant" or "divisive." Now, it's just a matter of leaning on senators to try to pass a tax cut. It used to be that Republican "moderates" supposedly recoiled from conservative orthodoxy on abortion, but were fiscal conservatives. Now, it's fiscal conservatism itself that is driving them out of the party. The Jeffords jump, in short, provided an opportunity for media liberals and GOP moderates to nudge conservatism a bit further into disrespectability, and to try to knock Bush off his governing agenda. So, in the days after the switch, Bush's critics unloaded, selectively deploying the swear words of the Establishment, and a collection of arguments that are unfair, or contradictory, or both.

Take one of those swear words: "intolerant." A *Washington Post* editorial paraphrased Jeffords's farewell speech approvingly: "The [Republican] party had strayed . . . perhaps from tolerance most of all." Now, Republicans weren't

Jim Jeffords by Roman Genn

destroying religious art or otherwise assaulting pluralism. What Jeffords and the *Post* were objecting to were the mundane operations of party discipline, the strong-arming that attends passing a president's program. Tom Daschle employed exactly the same tactics in opposing Bush. But no one called Daschle intolerant. In fact, *Post* columnist Mary McGrory wrote that he "is notoriously respectful of dissenters"—the very same day her newspaper reported that Daschle had lashed Montana senator Max Baucus for working to pass the president's tax cut.

Many of the commentators couldn't keep straight whether the Jeffords switch was motivated by the GOP's petty intolerance (as exemplified by his non-invitation to an event honoring a Vermont teacher) or by his high principle. The petty explanation had its advantages, because it would make the White House seem not just immature (needing to "grow up," as John McCain famously put it), but stupid. Commentators relished remarking just how shortsighted, how unsophisticated, how dim it was to play vindictive hardball in a 50–50 Senate. But if Jeffords really switched over something as picayune as a White House invitation (and one that wasn't extended to any other senator or congressman either), he obviously wouldn't deserve his saintly, above-the-fray reputation. *Newsweek*'s dreary Jonathan Alter, for one, squared this circle by concluding that the Jeffords switch had been brewing over philosophical differences for two decades—but that the White House needed to "grow up" anyway.

Another line of criticism had it that Bush forced Jeffords out by lurching right after the election. But Bush's critics refuse to distinguish between swinging right and simply continuing to hold a conservative position. So, for instance, it is the fate of Bush's opposition to funding for abortion services overseas to be continually portrayed as a rightward lurch. Sen. Susan Collins said after the Jeffords jump, "The president struck exactly the right tone in the campaign. But some of his actions since then, restricting international family planning, don't send that message." One Jeffords aide compared the international cut-off to "a kick in the stomach," which implies that it was something swift and unexpected. Yet Bush had enunciated his opposition to such abortion-related funding by November 1999. Eighteen months later, though, it is still talked about as if it were something Bush hadn't thought or mentioned until that dark day in January when he decided to govern as a conservative.

A variant of this critique has it that, as a post-Jeffords report in *Time* put it, "many of Bush's most conservative agenda items were hidden away in the campaign's fine print and covered over by his big messages about moderation and helping the little guy." It's true that Bush had a compassion rap in the campaign, but he still has one today, and he has attempted to act on his chief "compassionate" agenda items, reforming urban schools and supporting faith-based charities. As for "many" of his conservative policies being "hidden away," they must have been hidden, like the purloined letter, in plain view. Bush gave major speeches outlining his tax, Social Security, and missile-defense

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is this your idea of accuracy in the media?

We think accuracy means telling the whole truth.

Until the mainstream press stops misreporting the news, we need

ACCURACY IN MEDIA
For Fairness, Balance and Accuracy In News Reporting

- They didn't tell you about **CBS NEWS PUSHING FOR HIGHER TAXES** Accuracy In Media did.
- They didn't tell you about **THE WAR ON WHITES IN AFRICA** Accuracy In Media did.
- They didn't tell you about **$ 6 BILLION MISSING IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT** Accuracy In Media did.

Join AIM today and help us get hold of the truth.

As an AIM member you get:

- The AIM Report - 24 hard-hitting issues of our newsletter
- Special discounts at AIM conferences and the online store.
- FREE limited time offer: ***The F.L.I.R Project***

By making a contribution, you will not only receive the most informative newsletter of the biases and distortions of the big media, but you will also have the opportunity to participate in our efforts in changing the way the news is reported. Don't delay, send in your tax deductible contribution today!

In "***The F.L.I.R Project***" Emmy Award winning investigative journalist Michael McNulty proves that the Special Counsel was wrong! This powerful film demonstrates beyond a reasonable doubt that federal agents fired into Mt. Carmel as men, women and children were burning to death inside the building

Name: _____
Address: _____
_____
_____
City: _____
State: _____ Zip: _____

Accuracy In Media
Department No. NR6-25
4455 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 330
Washington D.C. 20008
www.aim.org

☐ Check Enclosed: ☐ Visa ☐ Discover Card
☐ Charge my: ☐ AmEx ☐ MC
_____ Exp Date: _____

☐ One year subscription to the AIM Report for $45. (includes a free copy of *The F.L.I.R Project*). (plus shipping and handling.)
☐ One year subscription to the AIM Report for $35 (no video).
☐ Additional contribution of $ _____
☐ Total Enclosed $ _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideas, and talked about them at almost every campaign stop. Where was *Time* magazine?

When Bush isn't attacked for lurching to the right, he is knocked for stubbornly persisting there. Complained Sen. Lincoln Chafee on the day of the Jeffords switch: "Hearing Karl Rove say the agenda is going to continue, they're not going to deviate, I think is giving us all pause." In this analysis, there's nothing wrong with changing positions, so long as it's a move to the left. Here's a classic ideological Catch 22—if the Bush administration has a conservative position on a given issue, it's wrong because it is either 1) a flip-flop, or 2) not a flip-flop. If the former, it's a sign that the politically flexible Bushies have made an unprincipled turn right to please conservatives; if the latter, it's a sign of a destructive ideological rigidity.

And whether the White House is flipping, flopping, or staying the same, it is said to be doing it arrogantly. McCainiac William Kristol, for example, interpreted the Jeffords jump as a sign that the White House could no longer "just smugly repeat canned talking points" and has "to get out and convince Americans of the merits of their policies." Yes, the Bushies have more than their share of Texas swagger. But to suggest that Jeffords bolted the party of smug talking points to the party of humble off-the-cuff candor is ridiculous. Besides, another school of Bush criticism faults the president precisely for going out to the country to explain his tax cut, as a way to peel off enough Democratic votes to pass it—which is, for some reason, considered a trespass on bipartisanship.

Indeed, the standard for bipartisanship, when it comes to Bush, is impossibly high. A Chafee spokesman complained in Jeffords's wake that "so far, unfortunately, all indications point to a continued effort to push what can only be termed a divisive agenda." Well, yes. In this context, "divisive" is almost meaningless. If wanting to cut taxes $1.6 trillion is divisive, why isn't opposing such a cut divisive as well? If Bush's agenda is divisive, so is Tom Daschle's—as is, by definition, any agenda that doesn't command unanimity. But, of course, positions can be divisive in different ways. Bush's education bill was mostly divisive on the right—more House Democrats voted for the bill than Republicans. The education bill, then, escaped getting the label. The tax cut, however, is "divisive" because it's something Democrats disproportionately opposed.

Bush partly brought this criticism on himself. His talk in the campaign of changing the tone in Washington played to an impatience with political argument itself. Of course, Bush meant something much less sweeping than an end to all political disagreement, just that it would be conducted in a civil manner. But the press has unreasonably interpreted his campaign rhetoric as a guarantee of perpetual comity. This makes it easy for Democrats to frustrate Bush—the mere act of disagreeing with his agenda renders that agenda a betrayal of bipartisanship. Insofar as the Jeffords jump weakens Bush and makes it harder for him to pass his program, it can therefore be (perversely) celebrated as step toward the bipartisan nirvana he talked about in the campaign. As *Time* put it, "Thanks to a stern, quiet man named Jeffords, Bush may finally have the opportunity to create the kind of Washington he promised last fall."

In other words, it is only through failure that Bush can succeed. This is the rub. All the various criticisms of Bush are meant to keep him from enacting his agenda. For Democrats and much of the media, this is considered a good in itself. But it has a subsidiary political benefit as well. They want to make Bush into his father by forcing him to abandon his substantive campaign promises. Thus, Bush will be a failure on his own terms, and lose one of his foremost strengths in the bargain—his reputation as a straight shooter, as someone who keeps his promises. In *Newsweek*, Howard Fineman made this explicit: "Ironically, [Bush] now must dig back into his own family roots, mimicking the dealmaking, compromising career of his own Yankee father." Fineman concludes: "In other words, by acting more like his father Bush may win the second term his father never could."

What is more likely (and less counterintuitive) is that by acting like his father, W. will end up like his father—which may, after all, be the only way to please his post-Jeffords critics. **NR**

■ COVER STORY II ■

Bad Lands

Why do the Dakotas vote for Dems?

BYRON YORK

"IT'S hard to explain, and I don't think there's an easy answer," says Rep. John Thune, Republican from South Dakota. It's late on a recent Friday afternoon, and Thune is discussing his state's politics as he begins the long drive from Rapid City to Sioux Falls, where he'll take part in a forum on energy prices the next day. Heading across the prairie, he's found a spot near the town of Wall—population 818, not counting tourists—where he can make a scratchy, fading cell-phone connection to Washington.

The question for which Thune has no easy answer is this: In the nation's capital, party loyalty is a fairly simple thing. Republicans support President Bush and Democrats support Tom Daschle, Thune's fellow South Dakotan, who is now Senate majority leader. While some are more loyal than others, nobody in Washington enthusiastically supports Bush *and* Daschle. And yet a majority of people in South Dakota do precisely that—60 percent voted for Bush and, two years earlier, 62 percent voted for Daschle. How can that be?

The question goes beyond the president and the majority leader. Not too long ago, Democrat Tim Johnson, South Dakota's other senator, ran up a near-perfect rating on the Americans for Democratic Action's annual measurement of Senate liberalism (although with a reelection bid approaching next year, he has recently begun to cast himself as more moderate). At the same time, South Dakotans love their conservative congressman; last year Thune, whose district covers the entire state, got a nearly flawless *negative* rating from the ADA—and was reelected with 74 percent of the vote.

And it's not just *South* Dakota. Bush won North Dakota with 61 percent of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the vote, while liberal Democratic senator Kent Conrad was reelected with . . . 61 percent of the vote. North Dakota's other senator, Democrat Byron Dorgan, also regularly hovers near the top of the ADA's liberal scale (in 2000, he outranked California's Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein). Yet Dorgan was reelected in 1998 with 63 percent of the vote. Add it all together, and it's as if the same group of people enthusiastically elected both Maxine Waters and Bob Barr. Other states have their political eccentricities, but none are stranger than the bipolar-disorder world of Dakotas politics.

"I think the explanation may be something as basic as people voting ideologically in presidential elections and on the basis of personal qualities in congressional elections," says Bob Burns, professor of political science at South Dakota State University. Burns attributes this in part to the states' tiny populations and geographical remoteness. South Dakota has a population of 755,000, which is a bit smaller than the Tulsa, Okla., metropolitan area, while North Dakota has a

■

Other states have their political eccentricities, but none are stranger than the Dakotas.

■

population of 642,000, a little less than that of Knoxville, Tenn. With so few people, elected officials have to practice intensive retail politics. "It's possible, through hard work and long hours, to meet a very, very large percentage of the voters," says Burns. "Once you achieve that level of personal introduction and get a first victory, if you maintain that frequent contact with the voters, you can win reelection."

Daschle is legendary for working his state hard, returning often and spending time in each of South Dakota's 66 counties every year. In April, after a crucial vote on the budget took place on a Friday, Daschle hurried home to emcee a Saturday-night variety show in Murdo, population 612. A month later, as he prepared to ascend to the pinnacle of power in the Senate, Daschle was again mixing

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT

NATIONAL REVIEW online

"National Review Online, the Internet iteration of William F. Buckley's venerable NATIONAL REVIEW, *is the smartest, sassiest, most-enjoyable-to-read conservative site on the web today. . . . Fans can, and do, visit NRO's cleanly designed site throughout the day for fresh and frequently updated news and analysis from leading conservative commentators like John Podhoretz, Stephen Moore, Ramesh Ponnuru, and, of course, William F. Buckley Jr. . . . fresh, well-written."*

—PoliticalProfessional.Com

WWW.NATIONALREVIEW.COM

TOP PROFESSIONAL MONEY MANAGERS*

Tradervest Professionally Managed Futures and Derivatives can offer YOU ...

- Outstanding Returns*
- Proven Long-Term Track Records
- Top-Quality Diversification of Stocks & Bonds
- Non-Correlated Asset Class to Stocks & Bonds
  -- Reduces portfolio risk and enhances returns
- Incentive-Based Managers
  -- Only make money when you do!
- Custom-tailored multi-manager portfolios
- Properly defined expectations and risk parameters
- Daily portfolio monitoring

Call 1-800-987-8655

FOR THE RANKINGS OF THE TOP PROFESSIONAL FUTURES & DERIVATIVES MANAGERS

www.tradervest.net

* As ranked by Daniel B. Stark & Co. See complete disclosure statement enclosed with rankings. Past performance is not necessarily indicative of future results. The risk of loss trading futures can be substantial.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the local folks. "He was all over; everybody in the state knew Tom Daschle was home," says David Kranz, political reporter for the Sioux Falls *Argus Leader*. And every time Daschle meets a new person or renews an acquaintance, he makes sure to send a note. "There are handwritten Tom Daschle note cards all over South Dakota," says Kranz. "They're in living rooms, on buffets, in restaurants. He literally takes a pile of cards with him and writes everybody."

Contrast that to presidential campaigns, in which Dakotans rarely, if ever, see a major candidate. Both states cover huge amounts of territory, have small media markets, and offer three electoral votes. Why should a candidate take the trouble to visit? Last year, neither Bush nor Gore did. In the absence of personal handholding and thank-you notes, some theorize, Dakotans tend to display a natural preference for Republicans. "When we vote for president, I think it comes down more to ideological beliefs," says Bob Burns, "because you don't have an opportunity to meet the candidates."

But that still leaves the question: Even if Daschle and his Democratic colleagues are wizards of hands-on politics, if Dakotans naturally gravitate toward the GOP, why isn't there a *Republican* out there who can go door-to-door, emcee variety shows, and use all the personal touches to get himself elected senator?

Maybe Republican candidates have just had bad luck. But the Dakotas' hardline Democratic Senate foursome also suggests that the states' dedication to tax-cutting, government-limiting presidential conservatism is at least partly symbolic. When it comes down to the role of the federal government, Dakotans like things the way they are. Both states are net consumers of tax dollars, receiving more in federal spending than they send to Washington in taxes. There are Air Force bases, B-52s, missile silos, and other Pentagon spending. There is Bureau of Land Management spending. There is Bureau of Indian Affairs spending. There is heavy highway spending for the widely dispersed population. And there is lots and lots of agricultural spending. "In some ways, you might call us hypocritical when we talk about limiting the cost of government," says Burns. "We like to pretend it isn't true, but we get more back than we pay in." For Dakotas voters, Daschle, Johnson, Conrad, and Dorgan are safe bets to keep it that way.

■

Even if Daschle is a wizard of hands-on politics, why isn't there a *Republican* who can get himself elected senator?

■

Whatever the explanation, the states present a significant obstacle to the Bush White House as it deals with the newly Democratic Senate. Bush has scored some successes with his effort to lure red-state Democrats—senators from states that Bush won decisively—to support his agenda. Ben Nelson of Nebraska, John Breaux and Mary Landrieu of Louisiana, Zell Miller of Georgia—all are potentially crucial parts of new, ad hoc Bush coalitions for future administration initiatives.

By that logic, the Dakotas should represent four potential votes. Instead, White House officials can hope for only one—they persuaded Tim Johnson to vote for the tax cut—and even that will be chancy much of the time. "It really is fascinating with these guys," says one frustrated White House aide. "They're in states where tax relief is popular, education reform is popular, ballistic-missile defense is popular. There's a reason we got 60-plus [percent of the presidential vote] there." The same official finds it "astounding" that Conrad and Dorgan were able to vote against the tax cut. "The thing that kills me is that they can talk conservative back home and go to Washington and vote the other way."

Tom Daschle by Roman Genn

But that's the reality facing Bush, and in the end the only solution will be to elect a Republican senator. Johnson will face voters next year and could be vulnerable, provided the GOP comes up with a suitably popular opponent. And everybody agrees the best—maybe the only—person for that job is John Thune. Polls indicate that Thune could win, but there has been speculation he isn't particularly interested in the Senate and would rather go home and run for governor.

Which is why Bush invited Thune to dinner a few weeks ago, just an intimate affair with the two men and their wives in the White House residence. First the president gave Thune the we-really-need-you-in-the-Senate pitch. "He clearly made his interest known in having me take a look at the Senate race," Thune says diplomatically. Then Bush approached from the other side, giving Thune the being-a-governor-is-no-piece-of-cake-believe-me-I've-been-there pitch. "He talked to me a lot about what it's like to be governor," Thune says, which ultimately led the conversation back to Bush's Senate pitch.

It was all very amiable—"he was very cordial, there wasn't any strong-arming," Thune says—and the congressman came away as undecided as he had been when he walked in. For the record, Thune says he hasn't ruled out any option, and doesn't expect to make an official announcement until the fall. Meanwhile, the president, unable to find any support in two states that voted for him overwhelmingly, will keep trying to round up votes elsewhere. "He's got to have people who will be willing to work with him in a cooperative way," says Thune, "and I don't think he'll be looking to the Dakotas for a lot of help." **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You deserve a factual look at...

Ariel Sharon

Will his "yad chazakah", his strong hand, bring peace?

Ariel ("Arik") Sharon has now been elected Prime Minister of Israel. He decisively defeated Ehud Barak, who lost the election even though he had close to 100% support from the Israeli Arabs. Israel's Jews, having at long last understood the futility of the Oslo Accord "peace process" and of the appeasement of the Palestinians, were ready for a radical change. But Ariel Sharon is much maligned, often called a murderer and a war criminal. There are three myths that his detractors propagate.

What are the facts?

Myth #1: The war in Lebanon. Sharon's enemies accuse him of having launched the "Peace for Galilee" War in Lebanon in 1982 unnecessarily and without knowledge or permission from Prime Minister Menachem Begin. But that is nonsense, of course. Israel, in contrast to all Arab states, is a democratic country, governed by civilian authority. Not even a presumed "warlord" (as Sharon is regularly titled) could start any military action, let alone a full-blown war, without the full approval of the government. The war in Lebanon, reviled though it may be now, was at the time an existential necessity for Israel. An intense and vicious civil war between the Moslems and the Christian Maronites was going on in that country, a civil war that began in earnest when the PLO entered Lebanon in 1970. They established their own "mini kingdom" in that unhappy country. Over 100,000 people were killed. From their base in Lebanon, the PLO had launched innumerable terrorist attacks against Israel and was poised for a major invasion. When Israel "invaded" Lebanon, the Lebanese civilians, delighted to be freed from the terror of the PLO, greeted the Israeli soldiers as their liberators, with flowers of happiness and hope. Sharon led his victorious troops to the outskirts of Beirut. He refrained from entering Beirut itself only because of the tens of thousands of casualties it would have caused, most of them Lebanese. Under pressure of world opinion -- mostly, sad to say, that of the United States -- he allowed Arafat and his PLO to escape to Tunis, where they were poised to plan further mischief and destruction that destabilizes the Middle East until today.

Myth #2: The Massacre of Sabra and Shatilla. The gravest accusation against Ariel Sharon is that he condoned or perhaps even instigated the massacre of about 800 Lebanese Moslems in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps. The reality is that the perpetrators of this horrific crime were Christian Falangist murderers, who by stealth invaded these camps and acted in revenge of the assassination of Lebanon's president elect, Bashir Jamayel. Sharon's detractors claim that he should have been aware of this assault or that he was aware and did nothing to prevent it. But nobody outside the camps could have known what was happening, because the invading Christians used no guns -- only knives in perpetrating their crimes. Not a single shot was fired. *Time* magazine published a story on the events, in which it clearly accused Sharon of complicity in this horrendous crime. Sharon sued Time for libel -- and won. But the slander that Sharon was responsible for the massacre has not died down and continues to be assiduously propagated in Arab and Moslem media and also in much of the rest of the world.

> "The 'yad chazakah' -- the strong hand of Ariel Sharon -- is needed to bring peace with security to Israel and to the Middle East."

Myth #3: The "Al Aksa Intifada". The current Intifada -- the bloody uprising of the Palestinians against Israel -- did not, as the media like to report, start with Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount. That visit, which had been arranged beforehand and which had been "approved" by the Palestinian Authority, was simply a pretext. This uprising, which could be called the "Rosh Hashanah War of 2000", actually started days earlier, on September 23, 2000, when a Palestinian policeman killed point-blank his Israeli counterpart, with whom he had been on patrol two days earlier. Mr. Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount was simply the signal to start this uprising, which voluminous intelligence proves to have been planned way in advance. And why shouldn't Sharon, why shouldn't any Jew, be allowed to visit the Temple Mount, which, with its Western Wall, is the holiest site for all Jews, the focus of all their longings? Any Arab can visit any place, any holy place, including the Western Wall, in any part of Israel without being questioned and without being molested. What is it with the Moslems that they go berserk if a Jew visits one of their holy sites? To blame Sharon for provoking and starting the Al Aksa Intifada makes as little sense as to believe that World War I would not have started had Arch Duke Ferdinand not been assassinated in Sarajevo.

The media is mounting a smear campaign against Ariel Sharon, describing him as an out-of-control warmonger, a man on a perpetual warpath, someone who, if elected, would not hesitate to use troops against the Palestinians and all other Arabs. The reality is that Israel desperately needs Sharon. He is an Israeli hero, who played a decisive role in Israel's brilliant victory against combined Arab might in the Six-Day War, who, with his bold thrust into Egypt, encircled that country's Third Army in the Yom Kippur War and thus turned near-defeat into glorious victory, and who, in his various ministerial roles, has performed fearlessly and most successfully. After the disastrous regime of Ehud Barak, a man who was intimidated by President Clinton and who was putty in the hands of Arafat, the "yad chazakah" -- the strong hand of Ariel Sharon -- is needed to bring peace with security to Israel and to the Middle East. The Arabs in Palestine, Syria, and all the rest will know that this is a man that cannot be pushed around, but also that any agreements that he will enter into will be scrupulously kept. Welcome, Arik, as Prime Minister of Israel!

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco,CA 94159

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501(c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world.Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER STORY III ■

November 2002

The shape of the Senate

KATE O'BEIRNE

ANYONE concerned that Hill Republicans aren't taking the 2002 elections seriously enough can stop worrying: A 23-page strategy memo—*from Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign*—on how Democrats get out the vote has become mandatory reading among GOP operatives. A GOP looking to Hillary for political pointers is a GOP that will leave no stone unturned in its quest to preserve its House majority and recapture the Senate.

And give Hillary her due: While the memo makes for dry reading, it lays out with great clarity some things the Democrats are doing right—and that Republicans *must* do right to win next year's Senate races. GOP strategist Curt Anderson summarizes the memo's message as the importance of person-to-person contact; he contrasts Hillary's emphasis on engaging local community leaders—and tapping volunteers to work their neighborhoods—with recent Republican efforts that, he says, amounted to "placing phone calls from ten states away, and sending bad direct mail."

We shouldn't overstate the challenge facing the GOP next year. Although Republicans, for the second cycle in a row, are defending more Senate seats than Democrats are, GOP officials point out differences they hope will lead to a more congenial outcome in 2002. Republicans this time have 20 seats up, compared with the Democrats' 14; but these GOP incumbents are far less vulnerable than those of the last cycle, who had first been elected in the exceptional national tide of 1994. Eight of the GOP's incumbents in 2000 were running in states Gore won. Mitch Bainwol, the executive director of the Republican senators' campaign committee, explains that he is able to avoid the defensive psychology his predecessor faced in 2000 because he will be selling GOP candidates in states where voters buy Republican. Fifteen of his candidates will be running in solid "Bush Country," and another four where the presidential election was extremely close; only Susan Collins of Maine faces reelection in a state Gore won comfortably.

Furthermore, five Democratic senators are running in states Bush carried by at least 5 points. In Montana, to take one example, Bush enjoyed a 24-point win; early polls there find that a majority of Sen. Max Baucus's constituents want to replace him. And Bainwol believes that life is about to become even more difficult for Baucus. When he was the ranking minority member of the Senate Finance Committee, Baucus could cross over to support the president's tax bill. Now he will be the committee's chairman, and, says Bainwol,

■

Republicans have a good shot at attaining a Senate majority. But they will need to maximize every advantage.

■

"the price of being in the majority is a demand for orthodoxy" that will send Baucus to the left—just when the politics of his Senate campaign demand that he tack to the right. Former governor Marc Racicot would be the strongest challenger to Baucus, but he has begged off running. Still, Republicans remain optimistic about the race. "We don't need Marc Racicot to beat even Chairman Baucus," Bainwol declares.

On the map, then, it looks like Republicans have a good shot at attaining a Senate majority next year. But to make it happen, they will need to maximize every possible advantage. Here are four key things they have to do.

One: *Avoid running weak incumbents.* Despite the favorable marketplace, there are vulnerable incumbents in Bush Country. Should the inestimable Jesse Helms, who has faced tough races in an increasingly Republican (but less and less conservative) North Carolina, decide to seek reelection, some of his admirers worry that he could strike voters as too frail for another term. He could wind up being the Bill Roth of 2002 (Sen. Roth being the Delaware Republican who, after 30 years in the Senate, finally lost reelection). In New Hampshire, most observers give Rep. John Sununu far better odds of defending the seat than the incumbent, Sen. Bob Smith. Republicans could boost their own odds next year by persuading both Helms and Smith not to seek another term.

Two: *Don't run weak candidates like Bob Barr.* Democratic incumbents offer some rich targets of opportunity, but if the Republicans want to cash in, they will need to recruit the most competitive candidates. In Georgia, Democratic senator Max Cleland is popular, but weakened by the lack of a strong political profile; GOP pollster Whit Ayres thinks Cleland will get even weaker over the next few months as his Democratic colleague, Zell Miller, casts conservative votes that will offer a sharp contrast to Cleland's own liberal voting record. But Ayres cautions that Republicans will have to nominate someone in Georgia who makes voters feel okay about opposing a grievously wounded Vietnam veteran. Ayres offers no specific critique of possible prospects, but Rep. Barr has expressed interest in the race, and is exactly the kind of candidate who would dominate a crowded primary on his way to a lopsided defeat in the general election.

Democratic senator Tim Johnson also finds himself seeking reelection in Bush Country; in his home state of South Dakota, the GOP currently enjoys a 5-point advantage on a generic ballot, and Republicans are hopeful that Rep. John Thune will ultimately decide to take him on (see "Bad Lands" by Byron York on page 22).

Three: *Focus on grassroots organizing, and especially turnout.* In addition to fielding the strongest possible slate of candidates, Republicans face the challenge of outmaneuvering Democrats on the ground—something they have been unable to do in recent congressional elections. Haley Barbour, recently tapped to head up GOP fundraising for next year's Senate races, joins the cho-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rus of party veterans who recognize the need for Republicans to do a better job organizing the grassroots.

The historic trends that favor the party not occupying the White House in off-year elections are, in large part, a function of turnout. The number of self-described conservative voters spiked up in 1994 in response to President Bill Clinton, but conservative turnout has since flattened out. Republicans need to face, and deal with, the reality: Democrats enjoy a permanent infrastructure of union members and black Americans, who provide committed troops ready to be deployed at election time, while Republicans have to create a coalition from the ground up in each election cycle.

Four: *Energize the conservative base.* Here, the Democrat-led Senate will help by providing ready-made election-year villains; in this regard, says Whit Ayres, "what's bad for policy is good for politics." But conservatives' enthusiasm in 2002 will be primarily a function of their attitude toward President Bush, and the issues that Republican candidates promote. John Hood, president of the conservative John Locke Foundation in North Carolina, thinks that Republicans could find themselves right on policy, but out of step politically, on the energy issue; and he thinks that while the media purr about the education bill, the legislation will do nothing to excite conservative voters. Hood believes, however, that the tax issue can energize the Republican base—*if* GOP members propose additional tax cuts that vulnerable Democrats end up opposing. "If taxes aren't a major part of the message, I don't see how Republicans win in 2002," Hood says.

Haley Barbour agrees about the importance of the tax issue. "Show me someone who pays taxes," he declares, "and I'll show you a potential Republican." But turning *potential* GOP voters into *actual* GOP voters has always been the tough part, and it will take all the help the GOP can get—including memos from Hillary—to make it happen in 2002. **NR**

■ COVER STORY IV ■

Lactose Tolerant

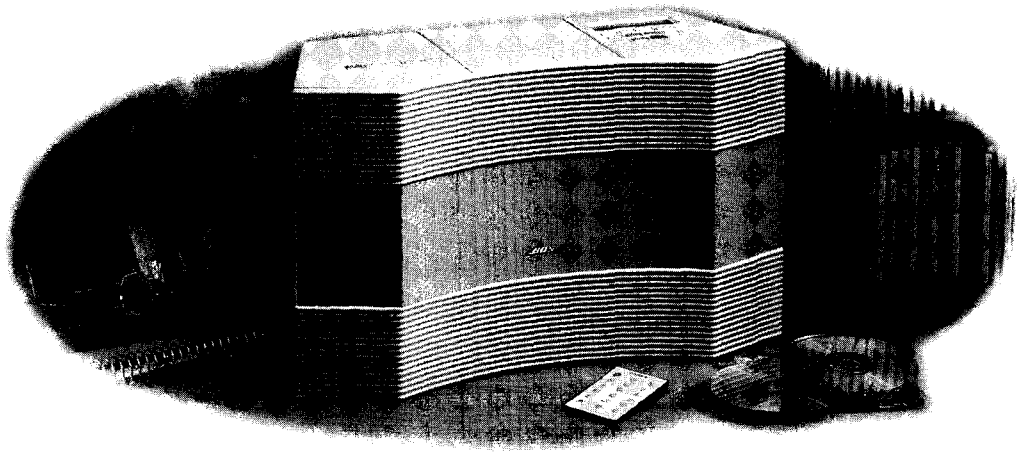
How Jeffords keeps getting milk

JONAH GOLDBERG

THERE have been many explanations for the defection of Sen. James Jeffords from the GOP: He is a man of principle. He is a lefty. He cares about education. He is just a weasel. But as the debates raged, an odd consensus emerged on one point: The Northeast Dairy Compact is a Third Rail of Amer-

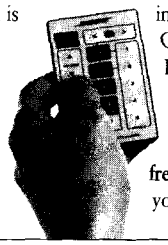
Mr. Goldberg is editor of National Review Online (www.nationalreview.com).

The Bose® Acoustic Wave® music system is quite advanced.

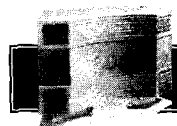


Pick up the Acoustic Wave® music system's remote and you'll be able to control room-filling sound from your favorite chair. Sound so rich and full you'll understand why, when the system was first introduced, *Stereo Review* called it "possibly the best-reproduced sound many people have ever heard." The key to this rich, clear sound is something only Bose has: our patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. Advanced as it is on the inside, the system has only a few controls on the outside, making it remarkably easy to use. With no wires or speakers to hook up, you simply plug it in and press "ON", or use the remote control. Measuring less than a foot tall, the system has a CD player, an AM/FM tuner, built-in speakers, and is available

Yet so easy to grasp.



in your choice of Platinum White or Graphite Gray. Plus, you can order it directly from Bose, the most respected name in sound. So call today for more information about our 30-day in-home trial. Take advantage of our monthly payment plan and **make 12 interest-free payments of just $89.91***. Order now and you'll even get a free Pedestal with inputs for your TV, VCR, cassette deck and another music source. It's a $149.95 value that helps you enjoy even more award-winning sound from the palm of your hand.



For a FREE Pedestal, order by June 30, 2001

Call today,
1-800-295-2673, ext. G5070.
For information on all our products: www.bose.com/g5070

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2001 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Acoustic Wave® music system design is also a trademark of Bose Corporation. Installment payment plan and free Pedestal offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases. Quote: *Stereo Review*, 3/85. *Installment payment plan available on credit card orders only. First payment to include shipping, handling and applicable sales tax. Price and/or payment plan subject to change without notice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

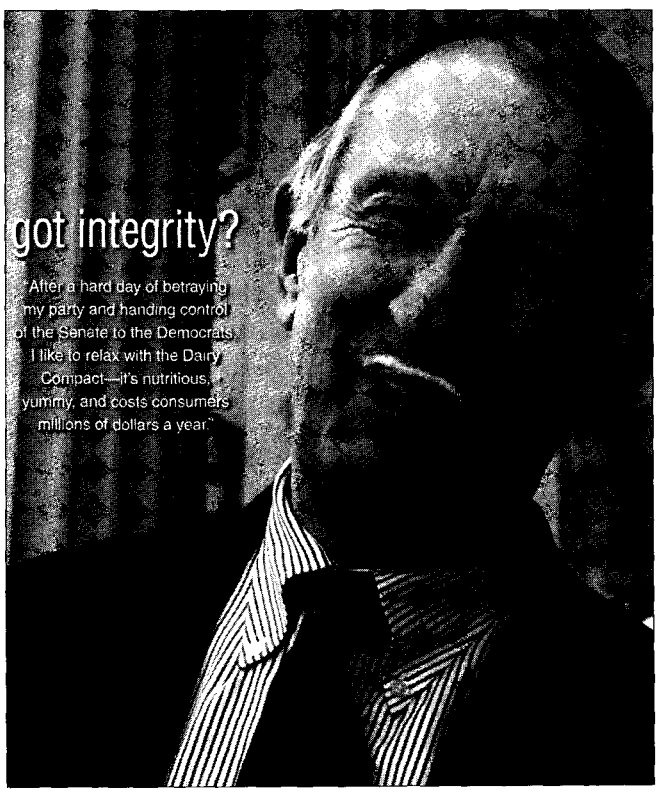
ican politics, and even Sir Thomas More would swear the Oath of Supremacy if the sanctity of this obscure price-fixing milk cartel were in jeopardy.

On May 9, *The Hill* ran a story saying that the White House might side with Wisconsin Democratic senator Herb Kohl in his bid to kill the Compact. Fifteen days later, Jeffords left the GOP. On PBS's *NewsHour*, Norman Ornstein suggested that Paul Gigot of the *Wall Street Journal* deserved some of the blame for Jeffords's departure, since Gigot had written on April 13 that the White House should kill the program to punish Jeffords for his liberalism. The milk-compact theory quickly became Beltway conventional wisdom, and nuclear metaphors started to proliferate. Even before Jeffords made his jump, Ornstein wrote in *Roll Call* that going after the Compact would be an inappropriate "grand punishment," and push Jeffords into using "the nuclear weapon" he had in his "arsenal."

The normally defiant White House responded, denying not only that they had ever threatened the Dairy Compact, but even that they had ever *thought* about it. *What are you, crazy?* White House press secretary Ari Fleischer insisted at a press briefing that the Bush administration would *never* tamper with Vermont's milk-Marxism. "I'm not aware of anybody who said that about dairy programs. The two stories I saw on that were absolutely unattributed. There was never any statement by anybody at the White House. And I think that the press has to be careful before you draw causal connections to events where you do not see anybody named either on background or on the record. So be careful there, please."

In recent years, we've associated such White House denials with accusations that the president played baron-and-the-milkmaid with an intern. Now it's an accusation that the president wants to kill a 20-cents-per-gallon subsidy to *actual* milkmaids. Congratulations, America: This is the sort of scandal-free politics you've been asking for. And isn't there something terribly depressing about all of this? Say it with me, brothers and sisters: *The Northeast Dairy Compact is a program designed to make milk more expensive for poor children.*

A federally mandated cartel established in 1996, the Compact sets artificially high prices for milk produced and consumed in the New England region, amounting to a regressive sales tax on poor families with lots of kids—and benefiting what liberals would call Vermont's greedy Big Milk industry if George Bush had been a governor from Vermont instead of Texas.


got integrity?
"After a hard day of betraying my party and handing control of the Senate to the Democrats, I like to relax with the Dairy Compact—it's nutritious, yummy, and costs consumers millions of dollars a year."

Of course, the dairy industry has been nearly Sovietized since the Great Depression. America, that shining example of free enterprise, is divided into a hodgepodge of bovine fiefdoms in which creameries and other businesses must buy from local cows. Bureaucrats set one price for beverage milk and another for milk used in cheese and other products. Meanwhile, the overall price is largely determined by a complicated formula that takes into account how many miles a specific dairy company is from Eau Claire, Wis.—the hub of the dairy industry in 1937. Like they say, it's funny because it's true.

But while milk prices in the rest of the country are at least somewhat susceptible to the pressures of supply and demand, the Northeast Compact is more like a dairy version of Hillary's health-care plan. Defenders claim it is the lactic equivalent of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve and the National Trust for Historic Preservation combined. The Compact's website declares: "The Compact serves several major functions including: assuring the region of an adequate supply of milk, recognizing the cultural and economic benefits of a viable dairy industry to the region, and *recognizing the ability of the states to regulate milk prices collectively, rather than individually, is in the public interest.*" (Emphasis added.)

But since the "collective pricing" of milk sounds an awful lot like what it actually is, Jeffords & Co. tend to rely on the argument that the Compact helps sustain the family farmer. Jeffords claims that the $45 million in milk subsidies that have gone to his home state have preserved a "way of life so special to Vermont" by helping these farmers. In reality, however, the Compact has done virtually nothing to stave off the decline in family farms, because it requires subsidies to be distributed according to the volume of milk produced: Large commercial dairy farms get the lion's share, while small family farms get only a few thousand dollars a year. According to numbers compiled last year by the *Boston Globe*'s Jeff Jacoby, the rate of decline in family farms didn't change at all after passage of the Compact.

Farms with fewer than 50 cows make up three-quarters of the failing dairy farms in New England. Meanwhile, the prospering farms are—not surprisingly—disproportionately in Vermont: About 40 percent of the milk produced in New England comes from Jeffords's state. The inefficient family farms of neighboring states are dying no matter what, because America is getting better at making milk available to everyone through efficiency and low prices. But under the Compact, poor moms in Boston pay more to subsidize Big Milk

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

companies in Vermont instead of buying from more efficient Big Milk companies in Wisconsin.

In 1999, extension of the Compact was narrowly defeated in the Senate. But in the nick of time, Trent Lott revived it, in order to get Jeffords reelected. The Vermont senator's gratitude for that effort is now legendary.

Now, of course it's to be expected that when a Republican squishier than warm brie defects from the Republican party, pundits and spinners will use it for their own purposes. Everyone from Rick Berke of the *New York Times* to *The Weekly Standard*'s Bill Kristol has seized on the Jeffords defection as a cause for serious reflection about the plight of the GOP and the conservative movement. That's fine, but what does it say about a political climate that can, with a straight face, treat a program that props up big companies and hurts poor people as some sort of inviolable Dome of the Rock of American politics?

In a breathlessly sycophantic profile, *Newsweek*'s Jonathan Alter wrote that "Jeffords is arguably the most patient man in the Senate—dissed for years without taking offense." Which is precisely the point. Jeffords's alleged principles allowed him to stick it out when

Trent Lott revived the Dairy Compact in order to get Jeffords reelected. The Vermont senator's gratitude is now legendary.

the Republican party became officially pro-life, and even when its stated goal wasn't merely to underfund his pet education projects, but to demolish the Department of Education and salt the earth where it stood. All the while, Jeffords followed the example of the late Senate minority leader Everett Dirksen, who once declared, "I am a man of fixed and unbending principles, the first of which is to be flexible at all times." But threaten a milk subsidy—and then, then, it becomes personal.

This is the truth, and it will delight cynics as they watch TV blowhards talk of "wake-up calls" for the "Taliban wing of the Republican party." "What Mr. Jeffords's bold response demonstrated was that a nice guy need not be a timid guy," Joe Conason wrote in the *New York Observer*. "His example deserves to be emulated by those who have profited from his courage." In *Time*'s "Inside Story" of the defection, Nevada Democratic senator Harry Reid, the point man in negotiations to bring Jeffords over to the Democrats, was quoted telling the Vermonter, "Jim, this is beyond you and me. This is for the country."

Niceness, courage, patriotism: Never has a man stood so tall as when he stood up to a poor child seeking milk. **NR**

Doctor's Diabetes Buster

(SPECIAL) – A remarkable book called *"The Diabetes Improvement Program"* is helping diabetics all over the country normalize blood sugar levels and feel better.

"The Diabetes Improvement Program" was written by internationally respected certified nutrition specialist Dr. Patrick Quillin. Here's what diabetics are saying about it:

"LOWER BLOOD SUGAR, MORE ENERGY"

"Thank you! Thank you! Thank you! Every diabetic should read this book "The Diabetes Improvement Program", it is truly fantastic. It has been a tremendous help to me. I have just been following what has been suggested in the book for a few weeks, my blood sugar is lower and I have a lot more energy.

I am not one who likes to attend meetings and seminars, and after finding this book I don't feel the need for attending them.

Thank you again for such a wonderful book for diabetics like me. YOU HAVE HELPED MY LIFE." **Janet L. Slattery - California**

"FEET COMPLETLEY HEALED FROM NEUROPATHY"

"I am impressed with your integrity and continue to enjoy much better health because of the information in your book. My feet have completely healed from neuropathy because I have followed your guidelines. It's a book every diabetic should have!" **Doris Cantrell - Utah**

"MADE A DIFFERENCE IN MY LIFE"

"Thank you so much. The book I received has made a difference in my life. I have been a diabetic since 1978 and I wish your book was around then." **Mr. Wayne Hess - California**

The *"Diabetes Improvement Program"* is based on documented scientific principles that can help:

- **Eliminate ketones and give you more abundant energy**
- **Make blood sugar levels go from High Risk to Normal**
- **Stimulate scratches and scrapes to heal faster**
- **Improve eyesight**
- **Improve your balance**
- **Help numb feet regain a level of feeling**
- **Reverse neuropathy and resultant heel ulcers**

Improvement may be seen in other areas as well, such as **lower blood pressure, lower cholesterol** and **reduced triglyceride levels**. There may also be a reduction of other risk factors associated with: **heart attacks, stroke, retinopathy, kidney damage**.

What's more, it may help improve **short term memory** and make you feel **more alert** and **no longer chronically tired**. Improvements of **double vision** or *diplopia* may also be experienced.

If you or someone you know have diabetes, this could be the most important book you'll ever read. As part of a special introductory offer, right now you can order a special press run of the *"Diabetes Improvement Program"* for only $12.95 plus $2.00 shipping. It comes with a 90 day money back guarantee. If you are not 100% satisfied, simply return it for a full refund...no questions asked.

Order an extra copy for family or friend and SAVE. You can order 2 for only $20 total.

HERE'S HOW TO ORDER:

Simply PRINT your name and address and the words "Diabetes Improvement" on a piece of paper and mail it along with a check or money order to: THE LEADER CO., INC., Publishing Division, Dept. DB632, P.O. Box 8347, Canton, Ohio 44711. VISA or MasterCard send card number and expiration date. Act now. Orders are fulfilled on a first come, first served basis. ©2001 The Leader Co., Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ POLITICS ■

The Guns of Vieques

A very silly, but very trendy, cause

MICHAEL FUMENTO

YOU could think of other reasons for putting Al Sharpton in prison—but he was put there on May 23 for illegal actions in a cause concerning the U.S. Navy and Puerto Rico. This has become a very, very trendy political cause.

New York's big Rev. is one of a large cadre of politicians piling onto the bandwagon against the Navy's gunnery facility on the island of Vieques. A group of House members has written to President Bush protesting the Navy's use of Vieques, suggesting that because of the Navy's occasional bombing and shellfire, the island has higher rates of death and cancer than the rest of Puerto Rico.

Some accuse the Navy exercises of increasing the infant-mortality rate; others allege that the sounds of blasting have prompted an epidemic of thickened heart membranes, labeled "vibroacoustic disease." A 31-year-old man even told a credulous Associated Press reporter that the bombing and shelling were making him bald. The hair "fell out little by little," said the anguished fellow.

Politicians have taken these charges very seriously; virtually everybody with more than five constituents of Puerto Rican descent has demanded that the Navy get out of Vieques. The list of Vieques foes now includes New York governor George Pataki, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, and Sen. Hillary Clinton.

An examination of the facts reveals that the complaints of the anti-Vieques campaign are utter nonsense. To begin with, the Vieques inhabitants closest to the gunnery site live about nine miles away—and the gunnery site is downwind of them. Furthermore, Vieques residents differ demographically from those of the rest of Puerto Rico. One prominent Vieques activist testified before Congress that Vieques suffers "a high incidence of alcoholism, drug abuse, and HIV infections." It has a high percentage of retirees, but no hospital for its 9,400 residents. These factors are probably of some import when it comes to health comparisons between Vieques and the mainland.

Nobody has been able to come up with a serious theory connecting any of the supposed illnesses with the gunnery site—which is not surprising, because the spooky claims amount to nothing more than misinformation and outright fabrication. For example, the claim of environmentalist attorney Robert F. Kennedy Jr. that "Vieques has the highest rate of infant mortality and cancer in Puerto Rico" is widely accepted—but totally false. The infant-mortality myth originated in February 2000, when the Puerto Rico Physicians and Surgeons Association held a press conference to claim that the rate was more than 50 percent higher on Vieques than in mainland Puerto Rico. They presented their conclusions to the Puerto Rico Health Department; the very next day, Puerto Rico health secretary Dr. Carmen Feliciano publicly refuted the allegations, and accused the Physicians and Surgeons Association of "lying to the public." How so? They had neatly clipped out the years 1996 through 1998 from their statistics. With those years left in, the infant-mortality rate in Vieques is actually *lower* than that of mainland Puerto Rico.

What about the allegations that the overall death and cancer rates are higher in Vieques than in mainland Puerto Rico? The death rate hardly means anything, if you consider that 47 of the 50 states also have higher mortality rates than mainland Puerto Rico. As for the high cancer rate, it comes from data compiled by Dr. Diego Zavala of the Puerto Rico Cancer Registry in 1997—which data actually show that the annual cancer rates on Vieques have been alternately both higher and lower than those of mainland Puerto Rico over the past several decades. The data bounce around because the Vieques population is so low that each cancer case makes a big statistical impact; the activists merely picked the year that best served their cause. In any case, the reported cancer rate on Vieques is actually much lower than that of many major U.S. cities.

Finally, what of that strange "vibroacoustic" heart malady? Dr. Nuno Castelo Branco claimed to have found heart-membrane thickening among Portuguese aircraft-factory workers ex-

Mr. Fumento, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C., is completing a book on advances in biotechnology.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT
NATIONAL REVIEW online

"American conservatives are not accustomed to being called hip, cutting edge, highly personable, communal, and funny, but that is the recipe behind NationalReview.com's secret sauce. . . . NRO succeeds because it is less a zine than it is an online bull session, a living, breathing (dare we say organic and communal?) complement to the print mag's older demographic and bi-weekly cycle. . . ."

—min's New Media Report

"There's plenty of conservative thought on National Review Online, ***as well as the kind of tireless Bill Clinton and Al Gore bashing you would expect."***

—Milwaukee Journal Sentinel

WWW.NATIONALREVIEW.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posed to as much as ten years of constant jet-engine noise. Even if that particular claim stands up, it rather stretches the imagination to think that the thump of shell explosions nine miles away would have a similar effect; yet now Branco claims that among 50 Vieques residents he tested, 49 have this syndrome.

The federal government asked the Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health to look at Branco's report. The Johns Hopkins team concluded that "within the constraint of the data available, no inference can be made as to the role of noise from naval gunfire in producing echocardiographic abnormalities" and that there is "insufficient basis for reaching a conclusion that Vieques residents have pericardial thickening or other heart abnormalities." Indeed, they called into question whether Branco's finding supported the very existence of "vibroacoustic disease."

So much for the health problems. Are Puerto Ricans being exploited in some other way? Nope. According to the Navy, Vieques is one of 56 Defense Department live-fire ranges, and many Americans live far closer to gunnery facilities. Ft. Sill, Okla., for example, is less than two miles from a gunnery range—and Oklahomans, unlike Puerto Ricans, pay federal income taxes.

A special 1999 Defense Department panel reported to President Clinton that, for many reasons, Vieques is unique and vital to national defense. The panel reviewed a Navy study of the feasibility of 18 alternative areas, but concluded that "there are no potential sites that can meet the current stated requirement for combined arms live fire training." And, although a third of the island's population has lined up to be compensated for alleged medical ills, Heritage Foundation defense expert Jack Spencer notes that protests consistently comprise 200 people, or fewer. "Of these, less than ten percent at best are Vieques natives," he said. "If the locals were so concerned, you'd think they'd find a few hours of time to protest for themselves."

All of this should give us pause before we sacrifice national security to prevent the scourge of male pattern baldness. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

Thanks for the Memories

Rote is right

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

In what has now become a hardy perennial of U.S. minor-news reporting, the $10,000 grand prize at this year's National Spelling Bee was won yet again by a homeschooled competitor, 13-year-old Sean Conley from Shakopee, Minn. Young Sean tells us that in preparation for the contest he learned, presumably by memorizing them, 20,000 words—a return on investment of a very creditable 50 cents per word.

Why do homeschooled children do so well at this kind of competition? One factor is surely the willingness of parents to permit the use of rote memorization as a learning technique. In schools of education, where many professional teachers are trained, memorization is seriously frowned on. The dominant philosophy in these places is "constructivism"—the belief that, as propagandists of the movement say: "Children actively construct their own knowledge." Constructivists believe that through guided experimentation and supervised play, children can discover for themselves true facts about the world, and that this "child-centered" approach is pedagogically (and, one cannot help deducing from their writings, also morally) superior to the more traditional "instructor-centered" methods. The slogan of the constructivists is: "I hear, I forget; I see, I remember; I do, I understand." These ideas are generally credited to the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget, whose work in the second quarter of the 20th century established the basic principles. However, constructivism has obvious roots in the educational philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his disciple Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and it was Rousseau who delivered the first blast against rote memorization 200 years ago in Book Two of *Emile*.

The constructivist approach is not without merit. Many skills, particularly those requiring mind-body coordination, can be acquired only by hands-on practice. One of the most compelling accounts of the learning process is the one given by Mark Twain in *Life on the Mississippi*, where he tells how he learned to navigate a river steamboat, mainly by just doing it—under expert guidance, of course. It is only that "I do, I understand" is not the whole story. Certainly it is true that you will not master a foreign language unless, at some point, you actually try to speak or write it. It is also true, however, that you will not master a language well unless you have committed to memory long lists of vocabulary and grammatical rules.

With more purely intellectual studies, rote memorization is, it seems to me, even more indispensable. It is difficult to see how history, for example, can be learned by "doing" it. To gain some understanding of any historical process, you need to know the order in which things happened. The simplest way to do this is to memorize key dates. Nor can much that is important about literature or mathematics be imparted by letting students doodle "creatively" with words and numbers.

■

'I do, I understand' is not the whole story. It is difficult to see how history, for example, can be learned by 'doing' it.

■

I speak from prejudice here, as my own education at pre-constructivist English schools was premised on the idea that true understanding can be built only on a foundation of memorized material. At my elementary school we mustered in the playground in good weather, then were marched off to our classrooms chanting the multiplication tables. Poetry was taught almost entirely by memorization. (Is there any other way?) We had to commit great slabs of verse to memory, from T. S. Eliot's "Macavity," which my whole fourth-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

grade class recited at a school Christmas show, to Chaucer's "Prologue" in the actual Middle English (with much sniggering about "Zephirus—eek!—with his sweaty breath"). I remain convinced that you don't know much about a poem until you have memorized it. I admit that in the case of "Paradise Lost" or "The Vanity of Human Wishes," this can be a tall order; but anyone can memorize a short poem in half an hour, and if you don't have a dozen or so by heart—pieces of the length of "Concord Hymn" or "Dover Beach"—your teachers swindled you. This is what poems are *for*.

■

The spirit of play was called in to aid the educational process long before Rousseau turned up to promote it.

■

The dull task of memorization was sweetened by a vast mini-culture of jingles and catchphrases, all designed to help children retain facts. Some of these tricks, I am sure, were centuries old. There were memory-friendly couplets like: "In fourteen hundred and ninety-two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue," and the classical equivalent: "In A.D. nine, Varus crossed the Rhine." And the mnemonics! I was a bit surprised recently to find that American children are taught no real mnemonic for the colors of the rainbow. "Roy. G. Biv" just doesn't cut it, as far as I'm concerned. We got at least two: "Richard of York gave battle in vain," and "Real old yokels gorge beef in volumes," the first of which has the extra advantage of including a historical and literary factoid. In "Such, Such Were the Joys," his essay about his own prep school, George Orwell claimed he was taught to remember the initial letters of all the battles in the Wars of the Roses from the initials of: "A black Negress was my aunt: There's her house behind the barn." I never encountered that one myself, but for the Kings and Queens of England we had an entire *song*:

> Willy the Conqueror long did reign,
> Then Willy his son by an arrow was slain;
> And Harry the First was a scholar bright,
> But Stephen was forced for his crown to fight . . .

(This is the one I learned, anyway. There is a variant version in Hazel Felleman's *Best-Loved Poems of the American People*, along with another one for the U.S. presidents.)

Mnemonics seemed to be everywhere when I was a kid. I was taught the Ten Commandments via the mnemonic, "One idle damn Sunday, Dad killed cheating thief and lied to cover it." This one has a quality found in all the best mnemonics: It makes very little sense. It is a fact known to people who study these things that bizarre or illogical mnemonics are the easiest to recall. At the furthest extreme of this principle are mnemonics that are perfectly, wholly meaningless, like the lengthy one used for centuries by students of classical logic to remember the 19 valid forms of the syllogism: "Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferioque, . . . " and so on for four more lines of pseudo-Latin gibberish. Alternatively, it helps if the mnemonic delivers a striking visual image: Medical students, at any rate in England, remember the five branches of the facial nerve (temporal, zygomatic, buccal, mandibular, cervical) by dint of the, well, unforgettable mnemonic: "Two Zulus buggered my cat."

The sentimental follies of purist constructivism, whose excesses have done so much to weaken learning in America, share with the political Left the conviction that traditional approaches to child-raising are joyless and "mean-spirited," forced on children by flint-faced capitalists who regard the imaginative and spiritual sides of human nature as unprofitable. (I suppose Thomas Gradgrind, the "eminently practical" businessman/father in Dickens's *Hard Times*, is the archetype here.) That is not how I remember it. A traditional, fact-based education need not be served up cold. The spirit of play, which is present to some degree in all worthwhile human activities, was called in to aid the educational process long before Jean-Jacques Rousseau turned up to promote it. Children can memorize, and they should, and there is a great, colorful, and playful repository of traditional gimmicks to help them. **NR**

■ CULTURE WATCH II ■

De-Demonizing Rum

What's wrong with 'underage' drinking?

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

It was a day of shame for the Bushes, an incident made all the more embarrassing by the family's previous well-publicized difficulties with alcohol. I refer, of course, to the regrettable 1997 decision by then-governor George W. Bush to approve legislation further toughening the penalties for underage drinking. In Texas, the legal drinking age is 21. A typical Texan of 19—let's call her "Jenna"—is judged to be responsible enough to vote, drive, marry, serve in the military, and (this is Texas) be executed, but she is not, apparently, sufficiently mature to decide for herself whether to buy a margarita. The 1997 legislation made things worse: Miller Time could now mean hard time, a possible six months in jail for a third offense.

It is a ludicrous and demeaning law, but it has been policed with all the gung-ho enthusiasm that we have come to expect in a land where the prohibitionist impulse has never quite died. In Austin, there is now a special squad of undercover cops dedicated to fighting the scourge of teenage tippling. In other words, they hang around in bars.

The crusade does not stop there. The Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse boasts a campaign called "2young2drink," which features billboards, a hotline (Denounce your friends!), and a program enticingly known as "Shattered Dreams." Other efforts include the Texas Alcoholic Beverage Commission's sting operations (Make your kid a snoop!) and, for those parents 2stupid2think, a helpful series of danger signs compiled by the Texas

Mr. Stuttaford is a writer living in New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You deserve a factual look at...

"Peace in the Middle East (I)"

Can it be achieved under the present circumstances?

After over fifty years of the bizarre notion of not recognizing the "existence" of the State of Israel, after eight years of the Oslo "peace process", and after being offered unbelievably generous conditions to bring an end to the long and bloody conflict, the Palestinians have rejected those terms and have instead chosen to continue on their path of violence. They have erupted in the bloody Al-Aksa Intifada, which so far has caused hundreds of dead and thousands of injured. The question can be raised whether peace with the Palestinians is possible at all.

What are the facts?

The Root of the Middle East Conflict. Many observers of the Middle East believe that the root of the area's conflict lies in the dispute between the Palestinians and the Israeli Jews -- that peace could come to the area if that conflict could be resolved. And the way it should be resolved, these observers believe, is by Israel's yielding its heartland, Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank"), and the Gaza Strip for the creation of a Palestinian state and by returning the Golan Heights to Syria. But after the late Hafez Assad's brusque refusal to accept the return of the Golan (because it would not include the shores of the Sea of Galilee), and after Arafat's contemptuous refusal of Barak's generous offer, it is clear that the Arabs do not want peace -- they want confrontation and the destruction of Israel.

People also overlook that the conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Jews long predates Israel's control over the administered territories, that Arab-Arab wars are endemic in the area, and that Israel would be defenseless and at the mercy of its implacable enemies if it were to yield control of these strategic territories without a full peace -- not just with the Palestinians, but with *all* the Arabs.

The Menace of Islamic Fundamentalism. The clamor for yielding strategic territories to the Arabs is the first step in the immutable Arab attempt to liquidate Israel altogether. Because, certainly, Israel, with its fewer than 6 million inhabitants, compared to almost 300 million Arabs, and with its less than 10,000 square miles, compared to almost 5 million square miles of the Arab countries, cannot possibly be a threat to peace or a menace to the Arabs. And reducing the territory of Israel from 10,000 square miles to 7,000 square miles would not seem likely to bring peace one step closer. The main reason that real peace is so difficult to attain is the political and cultural context of the Middle East, which is dominated by the menace of Islamic fundamentalism. By the tenets of this fundamentalism, Israel's size is not of importance; it is the very existence of Israel that, to fundamentalist believers, is an intolerable offense, an unacceptable insult to Islam. The fundamentalist Moslems -- Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and all the others -- do not aim at peace with Israel or the recovery of some territory. Their publicly declared aim is the destruction of the Jewish State. On more than one occasion, the Islamic Jihad has stated: "[This is] definite and irrevocable . . . We will be satisfied with nothing but the destruction of Israel."

Real Peace Must Be Global. The current upheavals in Israel, in its administered territories, and in the areas that Israel has transferred to the Palestinian Authority, may give the impression that peace would come to the region if Israel would come to terms with the aspirations of the Palestinians. But that is impossible, because the destruction of Israel is the stated purpose of the Palestinians, as embedded in their never-revoked Covenant. But even if it were achievable, peace would not come about, because such a peace would be a non-global one. The most fervent enemies of Israel -- Iran, Iraq, and including even Egypt (with which Israel is technically at peace) -- have as their principal foreign policy goal the destruction of Israel, a goal that would not be altered even if Israel acceded to every wish of the Palestinians. Those Arab statesmen who have tried to come to terms with the Jewish State have invariably found a terrible end. King Abdullah of Transjordan was assassinated by the rejectionists, so was President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, and so was President Bashir Gemayel of Lebanon, all of whom envisioned peaceful cooperation and co-existence with Israel. Every Arab leader knows that any overt declaration of wishing to make real peace and to co-exist and to cooperate with Israel is a suicidal death sentence.

"Real peace . . . can only happen through a complete change of mentality, policies, and historical ambitions in the Arab-Iranian block."

We all want peace, of course, especially the Israelis, who have been almost constantly embattled since the foundation of their state. But because of Arab-Islamic fundamentalism that cannot tolerate a Jewish presence on any part of "Arab territory", and because any peace arrived at would be non-global, such real peace would seem difficult to attain at this time. One hopes that real peace -- the Arabs' acceptance of a Jewish State and peaceful co-existence and cooperation with it -- will come eventually. But it can only happen through a complete change of mentality, policies, and historical ambitions in the Arab-Iranian block, abandonment of fanatic fundamentalism, and change to genuine democracy. And that may well take a very long time. In the meantime, Israel must keep up its guard and cannot afford to yield strategic territory, without which it would be vulnerable.

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco,CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501(c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world.Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

Visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Safety Network. One early indicator that your child is drinking may be the "smell of alcohol on [his] breath." Who knew?

But it's unfair to single out Texas. The legal drinking age has been raised to 21 in every state, a dreary legacy of Elizabeth Dole's otherwise unremarkable tenure as President Reagan's transportation secretary. She is not apologizing; her only regret is that the age of barroom consent was not increased to 24. In her jihad against gin, Mrs. Dole forgot that the guiding principle of the Reagan administration was supposed to be a reduction in the role of the state.

And, as usual, government is not going to do any good. The only circumstances in which the approach taken by the zero-tolerance zealots could have the faintest chance of success would be in a society where alcohol was a rarity. Zero tolerance has been a disastrous failure in the case of young people and illegal drugs; how can it be expected to work with a product that is available in every mall or corner store? Sooner or later, your child will be confronted with that seductive bottle. The only question is how he is going to deal with it.

Not well, if the Dole approach continues to hold sway. Demonizing alcohol—and thus elevating it to the status of forbidden fruit—is counterproductive. Adult disapproval magically transforms that margarita from a simple pleasure into an especially thrilling act of rebellion.

My parents avoided this error. Growing up in more tolerant England, I could always ask them for a drink, and, fairly frequently, I would even be given one. At least partly as a result, I went through adolescence without feeling any need to drink a pint to make a point. My drinks were for the *right* reasons. The only recollection I have of any real parental anxiety in this area was when, at the age of about 13, I accepted a brandy from a friend of the family (an alleged murderer, as it happens, but that's another story). The worry was not the drink, but the uninsured glass containing it: antique, priceless, and, as our host explained to my trembling mother, quite irreplaceable. In the event, the glass survived me, and I survived the drink.

Parents, not bureaucrats, are the best judges of how and when their offspring should be permitted to drink. Intelligent parents don't let alcohol become a big deal, a mystery or a battleground. They teach its perils, but its pleasures, too. Have a bottle of wine on the table, and let the kids take a gulp; it will not, I promise, turn them into Frenchmen. Treat a drink as a part of growing up, as something to be savored within a family, rather than guzzled down in some rite to mark passage from that family.

Furthermore, too much of the discussion about alcohol in this country reflects prohibitionist fervor rather than scientific fact. We act as if alcohol were a vice, a degenerate habit that can—at best—be tolerated. In reality, it does not need to be apologized for. Alcohol has been a valuable part of Western culture for thousands of years. It can be abused, sure, but it can inspire as well as intoxicate, illuminate as well as irritate. In excess, the demon drink merits its nickname; in moderation, it can be good for you.

Ah yes, some will say, but what about drunk driving? They have a point. While it is possible to debate the numbers, there can be little doubt that the higher drinking age has coincided with a reduction in the number of highway deaths. But has the price been worth paying? The question sounds callous, particularly given the horrors of the individual tragedies that make up the statistics, but all legislation is, in the end, a matter of finding a balance between competing rights, interests, and responsibilities. We could, for example, save lives by denying drivers' licenses to those over 65, but we do not. We understand the trade-off: There is an interest in safer roads, but there is also an interest in allowing older people to retain their independence.

■

Elevating alcohol to the status of forbidden fruit is counterproductive.

■

In the case of the drinking age, the balance has shifted too far in one direction, away from individual responsibility and towards government control. Raising the limit may have reduced drunken driving, but the cost in lost freedom has been too high, and, quite possibly, unnecessary: Alcohol-related auto accidents seem to be falling in most age categories. The problem of teen DWI is best dealt with directly, by strengthening the deterrents, rather than obliquely, in the context of a wider attack on "underage" drinking—an attack that might, in fact, ultimately backfire on those whose interest lies in combating the drunk at the wheel.

For the most striking thing of all about the minimum drinking age of 21 is how unsuccessful it has been. A 19-year-old in search of a drink will not have to hunt for long; just ask "Jenna." Almost impossible to police effectively, our current policy sends a signal to the young that our legal system is capricious, weak, occasionally vindictive, and not to be respected. In the interest of enforcing important laws—such as those against drunk driving—we should do what we can to make sure our young people see the police not as interfering busybodies, but as representatives of a mature, broadly respected moral order, who are prepared to treat them as adults. Those who believe government should be in the message-sending business should pay a little more attention to the message they are really sending, when they ask the police to enforce unenforceable—and frankly indefensible—taboos. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trent Lott, Minority Leader

Where did he go wrong? And how can he go right again?

RAMESH PONNURU

THE Democrats were stonewalling. It was the evening of May 16, and Senate majority leader Trent Lott was trying to reach an agreement with them on the president's education bill. The bill had started out center-left and moved leftward, but the Democrats were holding out for more. Lott gave up for the day, letting the Democrats attend a big fundraiser.

A week later, Democrats had a chance to return the favor. The Republicans had their own fundraising dinner scheduled. The Democrats forced them to stay until 10 P.M. voting on amendments to the tax bill—amendments that had no chance of passing but advanced Democratic arguments.

Incidents like these leave Lott's conservative critics exasperated. They fault him for not being more aggressive, more willing to force confrontations, more politically driven. If the Democratic takeover of the Senate has a silver lining, it is that it will free Lott—and his party—to become all those things.

Trent Lott by Roman Genn

For most of his career, Lott has had excellent relations with conservatives. In the '80s, the Mississippian served as deputy to the House Republican leader, Bob Michel. Some backbenchers, notably Newt Gingrich, regarded Michel as a go-along-to-get-along accommodationist. Lott wasn't one of these insurgents—he never joined Gingrich's Conservative Opportunity Society—but he was their ally. He was unafraid to take on the Democrats, or even his own party: He led a successful fight against Ronald Reagan's first version of tax reform because he thought it was too liberal.

Lott remained an ally of the insurgents when he came to the Senate. After Republicans took the Senate in 1994 and Bob Dole became majority leader, Lott challenged Dole's pick, Alan Simpson, for the number-two slot. Lott won by one vote. In 1996, Dole left the Senate to run for president, and Lott won the contest to replace him as majority leader. Conservatives were ecstatic. Paul Weyrich said at the time that "you would have to go back to the Republican majority leader under Eisenhower to have as conservative a leadership as you now have."

Disillusion set in rather quickly. Lott didn't challenge Clinton's controversial cabinet nominees. He helped Clinton pass the Chemical Weapons Convention, one of those agreements that assume that peace is secured by paper promises from dictators. Along with Newt Gingrich, he reached a budget agreement with Clinton that provided the largest increase in social spending in 30 years. He spoke up for Kelly Flinn, an Air Force lieutenant who was being court-martialed for having an affair with the husband of an enlisted woman and lying about it under oath. And all of this was just in 1997. Conservatives started describing Lott as "Bob Dole with a drawl."

Many conservatives were also unhappy when Lott and his colleagues refused to hold a real trial of President Clinton in 1999. By now, however, conservative complaints about Lott are no longer about specific decisions. Weyrich says of Lott, "I don't think anybody has disappointed me more in public life." Conservatives are dissatisfied with what the Republican Congress has accomplished, and Lott has taken much of the blame. This isn't fair. Critics sometimes seem to believe that Republican leaders could overcome all political difficulties, such as there not being enough Republicans, by showing more willpower.

More thoughtful critics, having watched Lott up close in the Senate, say that his failings as a majority leader mainly came down to two flaws, one a matter of temperament and the other of strategy. The former is Lott's passion for order. He is something of a neat freak, and he wants the Senate to be arranged as tidily as his hair. He spent years on the House Rules Committee, which regulates how bills are taken up on the floor. The Senate is a more freewheeling place, where anyone can offer amendments on any subject. Lott tried to run it like the House, reaching agreements with the Democrats to keep floor debates manageable.

Lott's strategic flaw is his narrowness of vision. Conservatives often complain about his zeal for getting pork projects in Mississippi. The complaint is overstated: On the list of bad things the federal government does, pork ranks rather low. But a senator who is avidly pursuing pork is not a senator who is likely to have a grand strategy for advancing the conservative cause, or to be an effective advocate for such a strategy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And Lott's obsession with legislative process distracts from the substance of a strategy.

So it is not surprising that Lott seems not to recognize that it is sometimes possible to "win by losing." Forcing a vote on a conservative bill or amendment, even if the vote falls short, puts liberal senators on record. Conservative candidates can then make an issue of those votes—saying that popular policies cannot be enacted as long as Senator X is in Washington. Lott doesn't see the point of offering amendments that won't pass. "When you talk to Trent about amendments, he'll say, 'Show me one that will win,'" says a Republican leadership aide. "You say you don't need to win, and he starts to pay no attention."

Combine this outlook with a certain defensiveness about the charge that Republicans cannot govern and are in charge of a do-nothing Congress, and you get Lott's leadership style. Bills, even dubious ones, have to pass. Amendments can't clutter bills, or make them harder to pass. The trains have to run on time. If the Democrats are putting up a fight, don't stay all night and see whose resolve cracks first; make a deal. "When you're the majority leader, you have to be concerned about moving the trains," Lott says.

That approach has caused the Republicans to miss a lot of political opportunities. In 1999, some Republicans tried to offer an amendment tightening security at the Energy Department right after the Cox report had raised the issue of laxity. Senate Democrats threatened to filibuster, and the Clinton White House to veto, a bill with that amendment. Calling their bluff would have revealed the Democrats' indifference to security. Lott had the Republican senators drop the amendment.

A more serious political misjudgment happened in 1998. As the elections approached that year, Lott let senators go home and left Newt Gingrich to negotiate a budget deal with Clinton. He did so, in part, to help Republicans Alfonse D'Amato and Lauch Faircloth go home to campaign. But Lott's decision also had the effect of freeing two Democratic senators, Russ Feingold and Harry Reid, to campaign at home while their Republican challengers were stuck voting on budget matters in the House. Worse, Gingrich cut such a lousy deal that conservatives the country over were demoralized and did not turn out to vote in the expected numbers. Feingold and Reid won nail-biters, and D'Amato and Faircloth lost anyway.

Lott's disposition and strategic blind spot may be his central weaknesses as a leader, but they are not his only ones. He is a terrible negotiator. ("You really want to play poker with Trent," says the Senate Republican aide.) He greased the skids for two liberal judicial nominees of Clinton in return for the president's appointment of the mayor of Tupelo, Miss., to the Tennessee Valley Authority. He expedited the confirmation of 64 Clinton nominees to get two appointments on the Federal Election Commission. Senate Republicans were almost all appalled by his power-sharing deal with Tom Daschle in January.

Lott is also a poor spokesman for the Republican party. Ed Kilgore of the Democratic Leadership Council says that "Lott's demeanor on camera is reminiscent of a small-town bank president cheerfully foreclosing a mortgage." What he says on TV is often inside baseball.

For all of Lott's faults as a majority leader, however, it is fair to ask whether any of his colleagues would do better. Indeed, his faults are theirs as well. Lott isn't the only senator who doesn't want to stay late. Some conservatives have urged Don Nickles, Lott's deputy, to challenge him for the leader's post. But Nickles is just as fixated as Lott on the imperative of winning votes and passing bills. Lott deserves criticism for not urging Strom Thurmond and Bill Roth to retire rather than put Republican seats at risk. But what Republican senator did urge them to go? How many of them are telling Bob Smith, who looks like a sure loser if he runs for reelection in New Hampshire, to step aside? Lott has no strategy to take back the Senate—but which of his colleagues does?

Simply replacing Lott wouldn't make the Senate Republicans an effective force. It would be nice if Senate Republicans were led by someone like Phil Gramm—someone smart, tough, creative, and strategic-minded. But it would make an even bigger difference if the Republican caucus had the kind of mindset that would allow them to entertain the idea of making a Gramm their leader. The Republican senators' leadership may not be inspiring, but their followership isn't so hot either.

That's why, for all the carping, nobody has stepped forward to challenge Lott. The grumbling grew louder after the disastrous elections of 2000 (the GOP lost four seats). But Republicans correctly concluded that Lott wasn't really responsible for those defeats. The only thing that came of the discontent was that some of Lott's deputies faced stronger-than-expected challenges in the Senate leadership elections.

Lott's colleagues aren't blaming him for Jim Jeffords's defection, either. The media wisdom on the subject is that Lott's (and the White House's) intolerance of dissent led Jeffords to leave the GOP. But Republican senators know how accommodating Lott had been to Jeffords: blocking a challenge to Jeffords's committee leadership, preserving programs that Jeffords favored, repeatedly trying to appease Jeffords's ever increasing demands for special-education funding.

Republican senators are waiting to see how Lott performs as a minority leader before thinking about replacing him. They're fairly optimistic. Before Jeffords left, Lott was in charge of the weakest possible majority. Republicans were ahead by only one vote (Dick Cheney's)—and that was only on paper, since some Republicans would vote with the Democrats. Now, Republicans are a strong minority. In the majority, Lott needed 51 votes to pass bills. In the minority, he needs only 41 votes to block bills and 34 to sustain presidential vetoes.

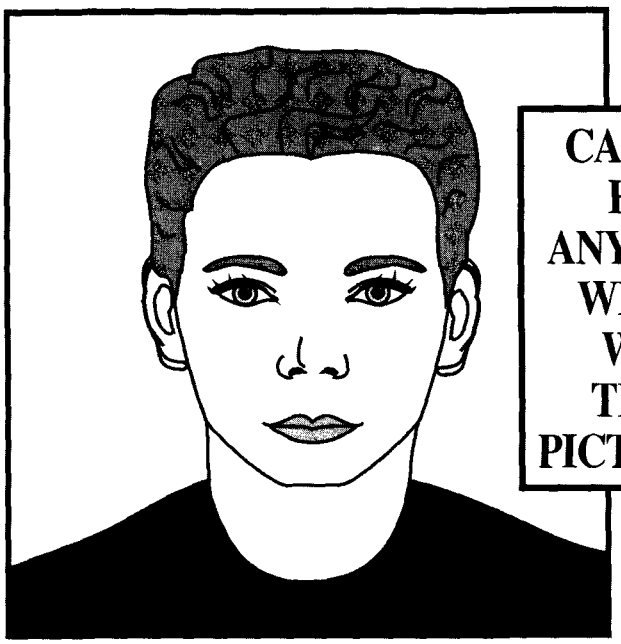
Lott's troops have also been encouraged by his first moves after losing the majority. Instead of wasting time trying to prove the media wrong by hugging moderates, he's tended to his base. Stung by the criticism of his January power-sharing deal, he has appointed his most hard-nosed colleagues to negotiate the one that will govern the new Senate. He has made the rounds of conservative journalists, talking a good game about taking on Senate liberals.

Lott is unapologetic about his tenure as majority leader. "I have worked to get the Senate to get things done and I still think that was the right thing to do," he says. But he sees his role as minority leader differently. One conservative senator says, "I think his challenge is going to be, in the minority, to be

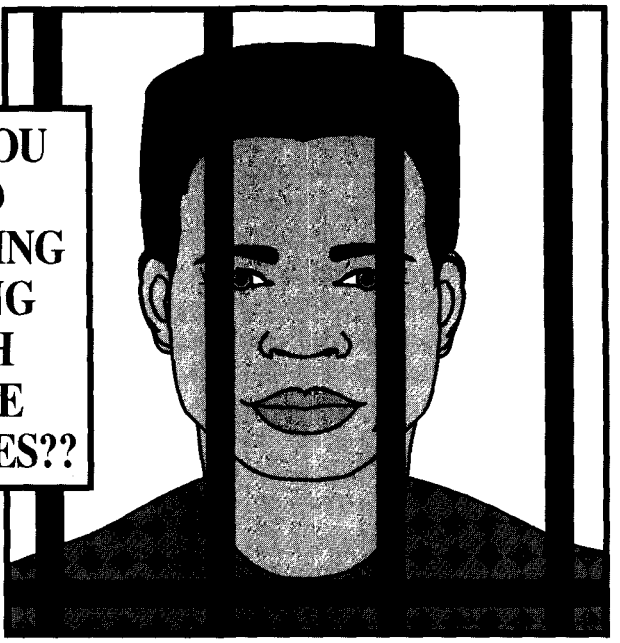
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAID ADVERTISEMENT

WHITE KIDS ARE MUCH MORE LIKELY TO BE USING (AND SELLING) DRUGS!



CAN YOU FIND ANYTHING WRONG WITH THESE PICTURES??



According to the federal Centers for Disease Control, he's 4 times more likely than his African-American classmate to be a regular cocaine user.

According to the Justice Department, if he's arrested on drug charges, he's 1-1/2 times more likely than his white classmate to be sent to prison.

White high-school students who are current users of cocaine: 4.1%[1]

Chance of a white person ever trying an illicit drug in their lifetime: 42%[2]

Percent of felony drug defendants in state courts who are white: 37%[3]

Percent of white drug felons given probation or nonincarceration sentence by state courts: 32%[4]

Percent of white drug felons sentenced to prison by state courts each year: 27%[5]

African-American high-school students who are current users of cocaine: 1.1%[1]

Chance of an African-American person ever trying an illicit drug in their lifetime: 37.7%[2]

Percent of felony drug defendants in state courts who are black: 61%[3]

Percent of black drug felons given probation or nonincarceration sentence by state courts: 25%[4]

Percent of black drug felons sentenced to prison by state courts each year: 43%[5]

BLACK KIDS ARE MORE LIKELY TO GO TO PRISON!

Note:
According to the US Justice Department and the Office of National Drug Control Policy, drug users typically buy their drugs from sellers of their own racial or ethnic background. Research of Ethnicity & Race of Drug Sellers and Users: US Dept. of Justice National Institute of Justice & the Office of National Drug Control Policy, "Crack, Powder Cocaine, and Heroin: Drug Purchase and Use Patterns in Six U.S. Cities," December 1997, p.1, 16, and p. 15, Table 16.

Sources:

[1] Data on drug use by high-school students: Youth Risk Behavior Survey 1999, Centers for Disease Control, reported in Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report, Vol. 49, No. SS-5, p. 66, Table 24.

[2] Data on lifetime prevalence of drug use: US Dept. of HHS Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, "Summary of Findings from the 1999 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse," August 2000, p. G-13, Table G-13.

[3] Demographic data on felony drug defendants in state courts: US Dept. of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics. "Felony Defendants in Large Urban Counties, 1996," October 1999, p.4, Table 3

[4] Demographic data on felony drug defendants in state courts: US Dept. of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics, "State Court Sentencing of Convicted Felons, 1996," February 2000, p. 13, Table 2.5

[5] Demographic data on felony drug defendants in state courts: US Dept. of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics, "State Court Sentencing of Convicted Felons, 1996," February 2000, p. 13, Table 2.5

Kevin B. Zeese, President, Common Sense for Drug Policy
3220 "N" Street, NW, #141, Washington, D.C. 20007 * 703-354-9050 * fax 703-354-5695 * info@csdp.org
For more information, visit www.csdp.org and www.drugwarfacts.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

like Tom Daschle. Tom Daschle has been a very good minority leader. He has thwarted the majority time after time. Trent is going to have to just basically mirror the tactics that Daschle used." Lott says only that "we've learned some pretty good tactics from them and we plan to employ them effectively."

Lott's job is more complicated than Daschle's was because Republicans have the White House. President Bush may well want to make deals with Democrats even if they undermine Republican Senate prospects in 2002. To lead his caucus, Lott will sometimes have to stand up to Bush as well as to Daschle. Says one veteran Republican staffer, "If we go into 2002 with no record, nothing to attack Democrats on, nothing to motivate our base with, then it will be time to go after Lott."

Having lost the majority has raised the odds that Lott will be able to pass these tests. Maybe Lott will win by losing after all. **NR**

National Greatness Lite

The substance, such as it is, of McCainery

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

To get ahead, John McCain needs a movement and a program. At present, he has neither. He has, instead, a résumé and a coterie. And the coterie is doing its best to transform the résumé into a program (and itself into a mass movement). In the coming period, this coterie has the formidable task of developing McCain's appeal into a coherent program that will unify various malcontents into some McCainized version of movement conservatism.

This project will not be held back by lack of political talent. Outside of an immediate circle of advisers and consultants, the McCain coterie consists of William Kristol, the GOP strategist and editor of *The Weekly Standard*, David Brooks, the social critic and *Standard* senior editor, Marshall Wittmann, the wit and political strategist who now runs the McCainite Project for Conservative Reform (PCR), and journalistic outriders such as James P. Pinkerton and Jeffrey Bell. This mountain of political imagination has labored on the question of how to develop McCainery and brought forth . . . National Greatness Conservatism (NGC). And on the PCR's website, alongside articles hymning such ideas as national military service or America's manifest destiny to conquer outer space, an apostolic succession of leaders in the National Greatness pantheon is announced with speeches by Abraham Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, and McCain. All the scaffolding for a new tradition is in place.

Now, as an advertising pitch, NGC is a no-brainer. Very few focus groups will denounce the idea that America is or should be a great nation. It is also true that love of country is an important thread running through every sort of conservatism—and distinguishing conservatism from liberalism, socialism, libertarianism, Communism, and other political theories resting on universalist foundations.

To be sure, "national greatness" is a way of expressing patriotism that sounds slightly strange to conservative ears: a little bombastic, a trifle overdone, redolent of resentful aspiration rather than of justified pride, more Mussolini and the Kaiser than Lincoln or Churchill. A conservative patriotism is ideally respectful of other nations and traditions and modest about its own. As the satirists Flanders and Swann said in their account of English patriotism in *At the Drop of Another Hat*: "We never went around saying how marvelous we were. Everybody knew that." By the same token, if you do go around saying how marvelous you are, you naturally arouse suspicions that something is wrong—maybe you are planning to seize a slice of Africa like everybody else, or perhaps you have just peaked and sense the forthcoming downhill slide. Self-conscious imperialist jingoism took off in England at almost exactly the same moment as the U.S. and Germany overtook Britain in steel production.

Another qualification is that patriotism is balanced and restrained by other virtues in conservative thought—most obviously, religious belief and suspicion of over-mighty government. By a strange coincidence, these are the two targets of McCain's scalding criticism insofar as he has denounced the Christian Right's influence in the conservative coalition and opposed a tax-cut package designed to restrain the growth of government. The coterie seems not to share his distaste for the religious role—all but Jim Pinkerton have usually supported moral traditionalists on such matters as abortion and gay marriage—but it has viewed the Bush tax cut with a very beady eye. Thus, the unnamed resident critic on PCR's website, who uses the pseudonym "Bull Moose," gives it a contemptuous thumbs-down: "In short, the tax bill lays bare the abject shallowness of contemporary conservatism. The President's central argument for the bill underscores the vapidity of the measure—'It's the people's money.' Indeed, it is. But the people make public decisions such as funding missile defense or national service. The President's argument is one for a cramped, atomized view of America that fails to inspire greatness."

This echoes an early justification of NGC by David Brooks to the effect that people lose "a sense of grand aspiration and noble purpose" when "they think of nothing but their narrow self-interest." And both statements rest on what is conventionally the left-wing identification of private with selfish and governmental with elevated. Yet the fallacies embodied in such an identification are glaring. Let me sketch three: First, it ignores the fact that there is such a thing as national egoism when a nation overly concerned with its own greatness overrides the legitimate rights of other powers. Second, it seems unaware that many government decisions are in fact driven by selfish private interests. And, third, it cynically leaves out of account those private actions, probably the majority of all human actions, that are undertaken out of altruism. If all those fallacies were in fact true, we would be at least disposed to hold the diplomat in higher moral esteem than the missionary.

If the general theoretical framework of NGC is shaky, however, what of the specific policies it justifies and embodies?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Well, here we hit a snag. It is very hard indeed to discover what specific policies NGC embodies. A certain coyness shrouds the enterprise: *Pas devant les électeurs* seems to be its strategy.

Its program is clearest in foreign policy. Under the strong influence of columnist Robert Kagan, a Kristol partner, NGC stands for an assertive foreign policy based on spreading American values across the globe on the grounds that these are universal human rights, intervening militarily to assist their local advocates where practicable and necessary. What is missing from this crusading unilateralism, however, are clear criteria for identifying the interventions that are practicable and necessary against, say, the interventions in Haiti and Somalia. Without such criteria, NGC risks becoming a prescription for endless trouble: interventions that tie U.S. troops down indefinitely to police an unstable local power-struggle; other interventions that end with a collapse into anarchy when U.S. troops are withdrawn under congressional pressure; a poisoned choice for the State Department between hypocritically certifying despotic American allies as democratic or weakening their regimes to the benefit of anti-American forces; and in general the adoption of an ideological revolutionary posture that either creates or aggravates conflict with other powers, notably China. Since such a forward policy is calculated to maximize opposition to the U.S. in world politics, it should surely include prescriptions to strengthen America strategically and to muster support for its actions in world bodies. Yet NGC is either uninterested in, or unsympathetic to, such policies with the single necessary exception of increasing expenditure on defense. It says very little about the development of the European Union as a potential superpower that would divide the West and rival the U.S.; it is antipathetic to a balance-of-power strategic approach that might involve the U.S. in reliance on undemocratic allies; and it proposes to ignore world bodies when they resist U.S. policy without seriously opposing the growth of their power in general. (It is probably nervous of being identified with the "black helicopter" crowd.) These are serious weaknesses and inconsistencies.

Of course, because Kristol and Kagan are intelligent and knowledgeable men, they usually come up with sensible responses to particular crises. But when they do, it is not always clear that the response has been dictated by NGC theory.

In domestic policy, the picture is somewhat murkier. Here there are three problems: What NGC proposes is trivial or irrelevant; what it ignores is vital and fundamental; and what it thus ends up justifying is a sprawling, grossly mighty government that nonetheless does very little to advance national greatness.

Until the recent website, the main source for NGC's positive proposals were articles by David Brooks. These were infinitely more entertaining than the average manifesto, but what they revealed was an incredible shrinking agenda. The more Brooks defined NGC, the less great it seemed. An NGC government would launch impressive civil-engineering projects, erect statues to great Americans, build world-class libraries and museums, foster the arts and humanities, and in general raise the tone of society. But the government does many of these things already without notably advancing any conception of American greatness. And the reason is that the contents of the museums, libraries, and art galleries it finances are increasingly hostile to the kind of American greatness that Brooks and most other conservatives value. They preach that American greatness consists of penitence for past oppression and a willingness in the future to make amends. Unless Brooks and the NGC coterie are prepared to wage a cultural war of their own to reverse the antipatriotic tendency in the arts, humanities, and the media, they will achieve nothing but empty gestures in concrete. But do they have the stomach for the brutal conflict that would ensue? (See below.) And if they did, would John McCain go along in the face of a media storm? (The second question answers itself.)

The website under Marshall Wittmann has expanded NGC's agenda slightly—but without giving it real political heft. The exploration of space would perhaps advance national greatness in some sense, but there is nothing distinctively conservative about it. And it is likely to succeed only if it becomes a bipartisan or nonpartisan national goal. Like the free market after the collapse of Communism, it would then cease to be a political issue at all. And national service, cited by Wittmann as an example of the kind of NGC policy that other conservatives are not exploring, was in fact the subject of a book by the granddaddy of conservatism, William F. Buckley Jr., excerpted in NATIONAL REVIEW and widely discussed on the op-ed pages.

This tentative and modest character of NGC policy is all the more curious because America today is undergoing a major transformation of its cultural life, linguistic unity, and national identity. Multiculturalism, bilingual education and official bilingualism, national standards for teaching American history, immigration reform and amnesties for illegal immigrants, controversies over museum depictions of America's role in frontier exploration or the dropping of the A-bomb, census definitions of racial and cultural identities, and other cultural-nationalist controversies have become the stuff of regular American political discourse. A movement concerned with national greatness should presumably be interested in the character and survival of the nation. If it were to reject the idea of seeking to ensure that fewer but more-highly-skilled immigrants would enter the U.S., as NGC does, it would for that very reason be obliged to offer serious proposals for improving the process of cultural assimilation and resisting the forces making for balkanization. And even if it were to take an opposite and optimistic view of this national transformation, it would still seek to ensure that nothing authentically American would be damaged in the process.

Yet NGC has been strangely quiet on most of these questions—and very hesitant about drawing major conclusions about them.

That leaves National Greatness Conservatism with—what? A general stance in favor of government doing big things, no very clear idea of what they should be, but a nervous aversion to the sort of nation-building efforts in America that it blithely endorses for such less promising candidates as Somalia, Kosovo, and Bosnia. In these circumstances, it does not seem unfair to describe the emerging doctrine as National Greatness Lite, to interpret it as an unintended justification of government that is sprawling but without authority, and to suggest that, for all his fine personal qualities, John McCain is its perfect political representative. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dirty Wars

The campaign against Reagan's (and W.'s) men

JAY NORDLINGER

THE Cold War in Central America will soon be refought in Congress, thanks to President Bush's selection of a slew of Reaganites for key foreign-policy positions. The refighting is already on, actually; certainly the Left, broadly defined, has been campaigning against these choices for several months. The arguments are much the same as they were in the 1980s: Did President Reagan act rightly in Central America? Did his men? Many of the players are the same as well: not only the Reaganites, but left-leaning senators such as Christopher Dodd and John Kerry, and leftist and leftish reporters and editorialists. The tactics are the same, too, with liberal smearing of the Reagan men, as lovers of war and enemies of human rights. Many in Washington are uttering the old line, "It's déjà vu all over again." The battles in Congress will be, at base, battles over recent history: Who proved right in Central America?

Otto Reich by Ismael Roldan

The two nominations that will be most strongly contested are that of John Negroponte, to be U.N. ambassador, and that of Otto Reich, to be assistant secretary of state for the Western Hemisphere. The betting is that the Left (again, broadly defined) will not be able to stop Negroponte; instead, they will Ashcroft him, roughing him up, tarnishing his reputation, sending a message. Reich is the nominee they really want to take down, the "human sacrifice," as one insider puts it, that they think is their due, particularly now that the Senate has gone Democratic. The administration is confident that both men will be confirmed, if after some pain. For one thing, Negroponte and Reich are competent and seasoned men. For another, they reflect precisely what the president wishes to do—a point the White House can be expected to stress.

Negroponte, of Greek descent, served almost 40 years in the Foreign Service, holding three ambassadorships in that period: In 1981, Reagan sent him to Honduras; in 1989, the first President Bush sent him to Mexico (and he was confirmed, by the way, unanimously); in 1993, President Clinton sent him to the Philippines. He also served as an assistant secretary to George Shultz at the State Department and as a deputy to Colin Powell on the National Security Council staff. Most of those who know him, or are familiar with his work, view him as—to use the favorite cliché—"the consummate professional," one with a particularly clear mind.

The trouble over Negroponte, of course, has to do with his tenure in Honduras. He stands accused of ignoring right-wing abuses, and even of abetting them, and covering them up. One of the nicer things that have been said about him is that he was "a zealous anti-Communist crusader." (This was a mot from *In These Times*.) An editor at the *Los Angeles Times*, which has been doing a good deal of crusading of its own, against both Negroponte and Otto Reich, has labeled Negroponte a "warmed-over Contra paymaster." The ex-ambassador's supporters, meanwhile, say that he made the best of an extraordinarily difficult situation, helping to pave the way for democracy and holding off both the Communists and the right-wingers. Honduras, like every other country in Central America, is now democratic—a prospect that not so long ago seemed dim. Negroponte defends Reagan policy in the region robustly.

Ex-secretary Shultz is one who is keenly interested in the success of this nomination. He wrote a letter to the *L.A. Times* in defense of Negroponte, which the paper declined to publish. Shultz feels that his old colleague is exactly what is needed at the U.N. now. Alluding to recent events there, he remarks, "You better believe that John Negroponte would not get blindsided by anybody. He's too smart for that. It's not a question of left, right, middle. It's whether we want someone skillful to represent the United States." And if the Democrats in Congress want to turn the nomination into a debate over Reagan's policy? "Let 'em," says Shultz. "There are a lot of positive things to be said. You go to a country and not everything that happens there is your fault, but you do your best and you work toward democracy, which John did, superbly. If this is a nomination they want to fight over, okay, let's fight. I think that Colin [Powell] and the president and everybody should be determined to take it all the way, to go to bat for the guy. Don't let it lie unattended for too long. Let's examine this, and let's do it promptly."

A spokesman for Sen. Joe Biden, incoming chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee (replacing Jesse Helms), says that the panel is waiting for additional materials concerning Negroponte to come from the executive branch. Sources inside the administration say that it is the committee that needs to get moving. Several Hill insiders speculate that the Democrats will sit on the nomination for as long as it is advantageous to them. Sources at the White House, meanwhile, say that the administration will stand by Negroponte, firmly, for as long as it takes.

They say exactly the same thing about Otto Reich. The Democrats are licking their chops over him, however, thinking him dead meat. They feel entitled to a kill, and this is it. But Republicans, both in the administration and on the Hill,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are optimistic. They believe that once Reich has a chance to confront the antagonism against him, he will be confirmed. There are a bundle of phony charges against Reich—about which more in a moment—but the nub of it seems to be that he is a staunch Reaganite, and a Cuban-American one at that. The *Boston Globe*, in a typical comment, editorialized that Reich is "wedded to retrograde anti-Castro policies." *In These Times* headed a piece, "Yikes! It's Otto Reich." There is, inevitably, a "stopottoreich.org," sponsored by the hard-Left and utterly dishonest Institute for Policy Studies. The demonization of Reich is well under way.

So, who is this Cuban-American monster? What's more, if he is a Cuban-American, why is his name Otto Reich? Reich's father, Walter Reich, was an Austrian Jew who fled Nazism, fought in the French Foreign Legion, and eventually found haven in Cuba. He was unable to get his parents out; they met the usual fate. He soon married a Cuban girl, and, in 1959, the entire family cheered the fall of the Batista dictatorship and the triumph of the Castro-led revolution. Before long, however, Castro revealed his true colors and intentions, and Walter Reich felt that he had heard and seen it all before. He ran again, this time to the United States, with his family in tow. Otto Reich was 14. This background seems obviously the basis of his worldview, which is not merely anti-Communist but anti-tyranny. This ought to be remembered when Reich is tarred as a brown-shirted thug without regard for human rights. (Castro's propagandists have already had a little fun with his name: Reich.)

After Reagan's election, Reich was named Latin America director of the Agency for International Development. As the decade wore on, the Central American conflicts got hotter, and Reagan grew ever more frustrated that the United States was losing the "propaganda war." So he ordered the creation of an Office of Public Diplomacy in the State Department, whose mission was (in short) to counter misinformation and the more pernicious disinformation (ah, even the terms return). The head of this unit was Reich. While there, he tangled repeatedly with the media—National Public Radio, the *New York Times*, and CBS prominent among them—seeking to correct their mistakes. Many of the very reporters he tangled with, and embarrassed, are writing about him now, in a predictable vein. There seems to be an element of payback here.

In 1986, Reagan named Reich ambassador to Venezuela, where, by every reasonable account, he distinguished himself. Five years later, under the administration of Bush the Elder, he went to Geneva as a representative (unpaid) to the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Since that time, he has been a private consultant and lobbyist.

The charges against Reich are many and wild, and we will take from them the main ones. He is accused, for instance, of being an Iran-Contra figure. This is a stretch, to say the least. Controversy has been attached to his name because, at the Office of Public Diplomacy, a subordinate sent an unauthorized, uncleared, and untrue memo to White House communications director Patrick J. Buchanan. This memo was full of braggadocio about the office's doings; it claimed, among other things, that the office had "placed" three opinion pieces in major U.S. newspapers, a prohibited activity. This was nonsense—but it was embarrassing nonsense when the memo came to light during the Iran-Contra investigation. The General Accounting Office, without talking to Reich or any other senior person, declared that the public-diplomacy office had abused its trust. The Reich camp believes this problem is easily batted away.

Another charge is that Reich, while ambassador to Venezuela, acted to get the (right-wing) terrorist Orlando Bosch into the United States. In fact, Reich had nothing whatsoever to do with the Bosch case—except to protest the decision of Caracas to ship Bosch to Miami without consulting American officials, and to warn the Venezuelans that they should be prepared to accept Bosch back if Washington decided to extradite him.

■

The assault on Reich should be a scandal, but Democrats are hoping it will work its poison. A group of them on the Hill is meeting regularly to plot Reich's defeat.

■

It is further charged that Reich was a mover behind the Helms-Burton Act, for the purpose of benefiting his private clients, in particular Bacardi, the liquor company. (Helms-Burton allows U.S. nationals to sue those who profit from properties confiscated by the Castro regime.) The *Boston Globe*, among others, has even gone so far as to dub Reich "an architect" of Helms-Burton. In reality, Reich testified in favor of the act—many others testified too, both for and against—but he did not lobby for its passage, and played no role at all in its drafting. Moreover, Reich did not begin lobbying for Bacardi until after the legislation was passed. Beyond that, his lobbying was unrelated to Helms-Burton, but rather involved a trademark dispute. Beyond that, Bacardi actually declined an opportunity to take advantage of its rights under the new law, despite being asked by the State Department to do so.

Then there is the matter of Lockheed Martin and planes to Chile. Many different publications, including ones that should know better, have alleged that Reich had a hand in overturning a longstanding ban on the sale of advanced military aircraft to Latin American countries. Reich is said to have done so to benefit another client, Lockheed Martin. The truth is, President Clinton overturned this ban in 1997, without any help from Otto Reich—and it was not until the following year that Reich signed on as a consultant to Lockheed, which sought to sell aircraft to Chile and wanted advice on political conditions in that country.

The assault on Reich should be a scandal, but Democrats are hoping it will work its poison. A group of them on the Hill is meeting regularly to plot Reich's defeat. Some Democrats predict that Bush will have to withdraw Reich's nomination, or that it will be delayed for so long that the nominee himself, exasperated, will simply drop out. This looks unlikely. Reich supporters note the presence on the Foreign Relations

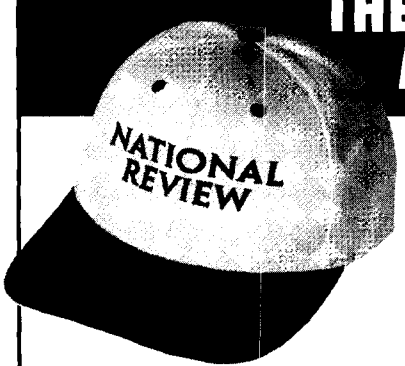
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Committee of two Democrats who may well back the nominee: Bill Nelson of Florida (because he is from Florida) and Bob Torricelli of New Jersey, whose state includes many Cuban-Americans and who throughout his career has been anti-Castro. But then there are Chris Dodd and John Kerry, whose opposition will probably be die-hard. They were known in the 1980s for their huddles with the Sandinistas and for their warnings that Reagan would turn Central America into a big Vietnam, with the United States hopelessly and immorally mired. The Negroponte and Reich nominations will certainly see a personal element, and the drama of revisionism.

Many conservatives, for their part, are amazed and dazzled at what George W. Bush has done, or is planning to do, on Latin America. When it comes to personnel, says one surprised and admiring insider, the administration is "showing no fear." It does not end with Negroponte and Reich—Elliott Abrams, a Reagan assistant secretary of state for Latin America (and a NATIONAL REVIEW contributing editor), is joining the National Security Council staff. Roger Noriega, Jesse Helms's chief aide on Latin America, is set to be ambassador to the Organization of American States. Daniel Fisk, who was Noriega's predecessor as Helms's Latin America aide, is expected to serve in the Defense or State Department. And then there is a man whose name is ripe for lowest mischief: Adolfo Franco. He is a Cuban-American who is to have Otto Reich's job of 20 years ago, Latin America director for AID.

All of these men are cut from the same cloth. They are, to use the most convenient shorthand, Reaganites. They believe that the Reagan approach in Central America was amply vindicated. The Left, obviously—at least publicly—disagrees. Resentment and self-justification linger. Which side of the American debate in fact proved correct? That, again, will be the underlying question as the battles over Reagan's, now George W. Bush's, men proceed. **NR**

THE OFFICIAL NR CAP



Official Headgear of America's World Champions.
Stitched Logo.
One Size Fits All.
Navy Blue/Off-White.
$17.95 Each.
Extra Caps $11.00

One cap $17.95. Extra caps $11 each.
Special offer: No shipping/handling charge.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Number of caps: _____

PAYMENT METHOD
❑ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ❑ MasterCard ❑ Visa
Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
* Total payment $ _____
* NY State residents include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

Roots—Deep Ones

The perils of looking into American prehistory

JOHN J. MILLER

ONE of the secrets of archaeology is that many truly great finds aren't made by archaeologists. It was a farmer, Harold Conover, who stumbled on a clue in the late 1980s that led to a magnificent site in Virginia called Cactus Hill. Conover and his wife were walking on logging roads near their home when he spotted a few Indian artifacts mixed in the sand. He soon traced the sand back to a quarry about ten miles away. Thanks to this detective work, a group of archaeologists led by Joseph McAvoy started digging near that quarry in the early 1990s. They unearthed signs of human habitation stretching back about 18,000 years—making Cactus Hill one of the two or three oldest sites in North America. They also found evidence to support one of the most provocative developments of our time: the growing suspicion among physical anthropologists, archaeologists, and even geneticists that some of the first people who settled in the New World were Europeans.

Ten years ago, hardly anybody outside crackpot circles would have contemplated this notion. There's a whole speculative literature of oddball theories on groups coming to America in antiquity. Ivan Van Sertima's *They Came Before Columbus* points to statues produced by Mexico's Olmec civilization as representations of Negroid faces, and the book remains a perennial grocery-store seller. Nancy Yaw Davis argued last year in *The Zuni Enigma* that New Mexico's Zuni tribe has too much in common with ancient Japanese culture for it to be a coincidence. Many of these ideas persist simply because they're hard to disprove, and it's important to remember that the whole field is afflicted with celebrated frauds like the Kensington Runestone—a large stone slab that came to light a century ago and claims to describe the travels of 14th-century Vikings in Minnesota.

Despite the uncertainty, it has become increasingly clear over the last decade that the history-textbook version of ancient American settlement no longer holds up. The first Americans, according to the standard view, arrived about 12,000 years ago by way of a land bridge that once connected Siberia and Alaska. Thanks to a handful of sites like Cactus Hill, it is now beyond dispute that some people got here much earlier. Asia remains a likely source for migrations, because of its proximity and the fact that today's Indians indisputably have ancestors who lived there. But Asia may not be the only source, and there's good reason to think it wasn't.

This ought to be thrilling news for the multiculturalists. What better project for them than the serious study of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America's prehistory—a glorious mosaic whose rich diversity is only now seeing daylight? But it must be remembered that multiculturalism is motivated not by sincere curiosity about the past, but by the sensitivities of modern victimology. An important part of American Indian identity relies on the belief that, in some fundamental way, they were here first. They are indigenous, they are Native, and they make an important moral claim on the national conscience for this very reason. Yet if some population came before them—perhaps a group their own ancestors wiped out through war and disease, in an eerily reversed foreshadowing of the contact Columbus introduced—then a vital piece of their mythologizing suffers a serious blow. This revised history drastically undercuts the posturing occasioned by the 500th anniversary of Columbus's 1492 voyage.

The prime mover behind the European-migration theory is Dennis Stanford, a jovial anthropologist who has spent nearly three decades at the Smithsonian Institution studying Stone Age technology. A big table dominates his office in the National Museum of Natural History, and it's often cluttered with primitive tools borrowed from the Smithsonian's huge collection. He is an authority on Clovis Culture, named for the town in New Mexico where the first remnants of it were found in 1932. The Clovis people were said to be big-game hunters who stalked mammoths, and they left behind distinctive relics. Researchers were so sure that they were the continent's original settlers—about 12,000 years ago—that suggesting otherwise was professional heresy.

But by the late 1980s, Stanford and a few of his colleagues, including his former student Bruce Bradley, began to harbor serious doubts about the Clovis theory. For starters, there were a handful of sites, such as Pennsylvania's Meadowcroft Rockshelter, that seemed older than Clovis. But more important, in Stanford's view, was the complete lack of evidence that Clovis culture ever existed outside the Americas. He spent years scouring museum collections around the world, but always came away empty. "It was getting pretty discouraging," he says.

In truth, there is a Stone Age technology that looks an awful lot like Clovis, and its existence troubled Stanford and Bradley: The culture that produced it wasn't found in Siberia, where just about everybody would have expected it, but at the other end of the same landmass—in modern-day France and Spain. It's called Solutrean, and it vanished some 20,000 years ago. Stanford and Bradley were especially intrigued by the fact that the greatest concentration of Clovis sites occurs in the southeastern United States: If the technology is native to the Americas, it was probably invented in this area. If it wasn't native, then this was probably the site to which it was imported—on the side of the North American continent facing Europe. But a pair of insurmountable obstacles appeared to separate the Clovis and Solutrean cultures: several thousand years, and a large ocean.

Then came the findings at Cactus Hill. "As soon as we started to see some of that stuff come out, we thought about the connection to Solutrean," says Stanford. Joseph McAvoy and his team found Clovis artifacts on the site, as well as irrefutably older material that Stanford and Bradley think is a developmental form of Clovis technology.

That's a groundbreaking observation. Experts in ancient technology like to build family trees. Just as a sculptor can hack a limitless number of objects out of a stone block, there are an infinite number of ways to chip a hand ax or spearpoint from a rock. Over time, cultures develop particular techniques; archaeologists can identify them and create tool genealogies. If they find tools that look similar and were manufactured in the same way, there's a good chance the people making them shared cultural traits. They may have been blood relatives or trading partners, but whatever their precise relationship, they almost certainly drew from the same storehouse of knowledge.

■

If some population came before the American Indians, then a vital piece of their mythologizing suffers a serious blow.

■

Stanford is one of the world's few remaining accomplished flintknappers: Give him the right type of rock and he can flake it into a long, bifacial, and fluted spearpoint just like a Clovis hunter would. While other scholars have noted the similarities between Clovis and Solutrean technology as a mildly interesting example of cultural convergence—in other words, a coincidence—Stanford's expertise in flintwork made him suspect a deeper connection: "There are so many matching steps in how they made their tools: bifacial flaking, heat treatment, similar ceremonial items, the presence of red ocher. There must be fifty or sixty points of comparison. It can't be chance." And yet nobody could figure out a way to bridge the thousands of years and miles dividing the two groups.

Then, in 1994, a team of Emory University scientists studying genetic diversity made an unexpected discovery. They examined a specific kind of DNA lineage known as mitochondrial DNA in ethnic groups around the world. Their survey of American Indians found four major varieties, which they labeled haplogroups A, B, C, and D. Each of these has antecedents in Asia, confirming that today's Indians descend almost entirely from Asian stock. But there's a fifth lineage, too, called haplogroup X. It occurs in about a quarter of all Ojibway Indians, and in lesser amounts among members of the Sioux, Navajo, and other tribes. A version of the X haplogroup shows up in only one other place on the planet: Europe.

"That's what pushed me over the edge," says Stanford. If the X haplogroup had found its way to America through Siberia, it almost certainly would have left behind a mark somewhere in Asia; but exhaustive searching has turned up no indications of any passage. The simplest explanation is an Atlantic crossing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUT OF—EUROPE?

Actual human remains might help clinch the case. Unfortunately, not many 9,000-year-old skeletons survive today. The small sample that are known raise fascinating possibilities. The much-disputed Kennewick Man, for instance, is said to have Caucasoid features, as opposed to the Mongoloid ones of present-day Indians. (This isn't to say he was "white"—nobody knows the color of his skin.) Some researchers have suggested his morphology most closely resembles the Ainu, an indigenous Japanese population. But the prospect of early migrations from places other than Asia can't be dismissed. One skull found in Brazil shares more similarities with Australian Aborigines than with any other group. "The evidence is mounting that the earliest North Americans were a distinct people, or perhaps several distinct peoples, who cannot easily be linked to modern American Indians," writes James C. Chatters—the forensic anthropologist who recovered Kennewick Man—in his just-published book, *Ancient Encounters*.

How might Europeans have made it to the Americas so long ago? The challenge appears immense, but there is a tendency to underestimate the cleverness of ancient peoples—a tendency that grows over time, perhaps, as we depend more on sophisticated technology and begin to believe that only a half-wit would sail beyond sight of the coast without hooking up to a GPS satellite. But boats and navigation aren't recent inventions; human beings reached Australia at least 40,000 years ago, and getting there would have required—at least—a trip of about 80 miles on the high seas, from New Guinea. That's much shorter than traversing the Atlantic, to be sure, but the important point is that it represents a willingness and ability among ancient people to leave the relative safety of coastal waterways.

A migration out of Europe seems distinctly possible if we consider a number of factors that probably would have given ancient travelers a boost. During the last ice age, the sea levels were lower; today's coasts were inland, and the distance from Western Europe to the Grand Banks (which then formed the easternmost part of North America) would have been about 1,400 miles—far, but much closer than it is today. In addition, an ice shelf extending south from the Arctic would have presented a clear route. Seals, penguins, and fish would have offered nourishment along the way. The prevailing ocean current, too, would have swept these early people in the right direction. So the journey wouldn't have required the prehistoric equivalent of the Apollo space program. "It may have been a few guys on an ice floe," says Stanford.

Discovering an 18,000-year-old Irish coracle off the New Jersey shore would settle a lot of questions, but ancient boats were made of perishable materials. Tools and bones last longer, and that's what makes the Cactus Hill artifacts and the Kennewick remains so important. Prehistory isn't called prehistory for nothing: It's a challenge to study, because the people who made it left only scant traces of themselves. Even if a European migration really did happen, the evidence proving it conclusively may not exist today. What evidence does exist seems to turn up by happenstance, such as when a farmer takes a stroll down a logging road. In the case of Kennewick Man, a pair of boozed-up college students waded into the Columbia River to avoid buying $11 tickets for a boating exhibition, and then spotted a skull sticking out of the mud. These important discoveries were essentially accidents.

The truth may be out there, but some people would prefer to keep it hidden. Kennewick Man, for instance, is currently locked up in Seattle's Burke Museum, where nobody is allowed to study him. Last September, interior secretary Bruce Babbitt announced his intention to give the priceless remains to modern-day Indian tribes that intended to bury the bones without allowing scientists a look. Several researchers (including Stanford) sued, and a judge stopped the handover. Lawyers will argue the case on June 19, and the fate of Kennewick Man—perhaps the most important human skeleton ever found in the Western Hemisphere—remains uncertain.

■

What seems increasingly clear is that the old story of a simple land migration from Siberia 12,000 years ago won't survive.

■

This case is hardly an exception. Thanks to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, federally recognized tribes have the right to petition for human remains. The idea was to help them protect their ancestors from grave robbers—but in practice the law has become a tool for tribal activists to prevent the study of ancient people. The Friends of America's Past, an organization based in Portland, Ore., counts five other sets of bones—rough contemporaries of Kennewick Man—that have been lost to science under this or similar laws, and another six "in jeopardy" of the same fate. Most of these remains are said to share the vaguely "Caucasoid" traits seen on Kennewick Man—but again, research opportunities have been restricted.

Stanford and Bradley are completing a manuscript on the Clovis-Solutrean connection, which the University of California Press expects to publish next year. It's impossible to say whether the next generation of scholars will come to look at their work as a turning point in our understanding of prehistory, or a less-than-completely-convincing argument that makes creative use of meager material. What seems increasingly clear, however, is that the old story of a simple land migration from Siberia 12,000 years ago won't survive. The question of what will replace it should be a matter of concern to all of us, because the first Americans represent the heritage of *all* Americans. No single person or group owns the past; we all do, collectively. And it is only through a spirit of scientific inquiry that we may learn the answer to that fascinating question: How did the New World come to have such people in it? **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

[BEGIN TELEPHONE TRANSCRIPT]

RECORDED VOICE: Hello and welcome to the White House Customer Service line for moderate Republican senators. If you have a touch-tone telephone, please press one. If you do not have a touch-tone telephone, please stay on the line for the next available customer-service representative.

[touch-tone sound]

Our menu options have changed. Please listen carefully to the following menu and make your selection at any time. If you are a moderate Republican senator in need of White House tours, invitations, stationery, or photo opportunities, press one. If you are a moderate Republican senator in need of immediate access to the president or vice president, press two. If you are a moderate Republican senator thinking about switching parties, you may press zero at any time.

[touch-tone sound]

CUSTOMER SERVICE REPRESENTATIVE: Hello and welcome to the White House Customer Service line. May I have your name as it appears on your Senate ID, please?
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE VOICE: Olympia Snowe.
CUST.SERV.REP: Hello, Senator Snowe. How may I help you today?
SEN.SNO: Well, I'm thinking of switching parties.
CUST.SERV.REP: For any particular reason, Senator?
SEN.SNO: No. It's just that I feel overlooked as a moderate.
CUST.SERV.REP: Well, Senator, for renewing your membership in the Republican caucus, we'd like to offer you our Platinum Status-level reward. Platinum Status offers you travel and leisure discounts in any of thirty world-class resorts, a dedicated Platinum Concierge service, available only to Platinum Status achievers, and a thank-you gift amenity.
SEN.SNO: I was thinking more along the lines of a military base.
CUST.SERV.REP: Certainly, Senator. Something in the way of an air base? Also, I have an attractive satellite-communications facility available.
SEN.SNO: No, the air base is fine.
CUST.SERV.REP: Number of employees?
SEN.SNO: Well, enough to make a difference.
CUST.SERV.REP: Is ten thousand acceptable?
SEN.SNO: More than acceptable.
CUST.SERV.REP: Thank you for your call, Senator. The air base and employee figure will arrive in your home state in six to eight months.
SEN.SNO: Thank you.

[Click]

CUSTOMER SERVICE REPRESENTATIVE: Hello and welcome to the White House Customer Service line. May I have your name as it appears on your Senate ID, please?
UNIDENTIFIED MALE VOICE: Orrin Hatch.
CUST.SERV.REP: Senator Hatch, you are not currently on our list of wavering Republicans.
SEN.HAT: Neither is Hagel. And you gave him some snow tires.
CUST.SERV.REP: How may I help you, Senator?
SEN.HAT: We're working late and the Domino's is closed. I've got a lot of hungry moderates over here. Can you send us a pizza?
CUST.SERV.REP: I'll have to check with my supervisor, sir.
[Static. Hold music: "America the Beautiful" sung by the Navy Choir. Elapsed time: forty-five seconds]
CUST.SERV.REP: Sir, the pizza is on its way.
SEN.HAT: Thank you.

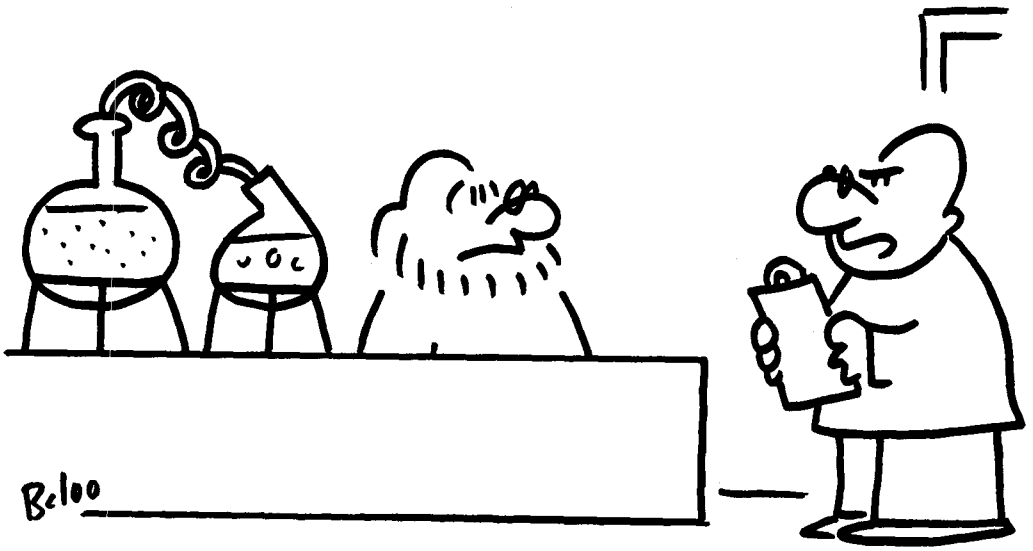
[Click]

CUSTOMER SERVICE REPRESENTATIVE: Hello and welcome to the White House Customer Service line. May I have your name as it appears on your Senate ID, please?
UNIDENTIFIED MALE VOICE: Edward Kennedy.
CUST.SERV.REP: Hello, Senator Kennedy. What can we do for you?
SEN.KEN: I was uh just talking with my friend uh Senator Hatch the uh senior uh the senior—
CUST.SERV.REP: Yes, sir. Senator Hatch, the senior senator from Utah. And how can we help you here, sir?
SEN.KEN: Well, I uh couldn't uh help but notice that he just ordered a uh just ordered a pizza from you all and uh I was wondering if I could order an extra large uh pepperoni with . . .
CUST.SERV.REP: Sir? This is a toll-free customer-service line for Republican senators only.
SEN.KEN: What about setting a new tone in Washington?! What about all the president's brave talk about bipartisanship?!
CUST.SERV.REP: Senator, this line is specifically designed for Republican senators who are thinking about switching parties.
SEN.KEN: So no uh pizza?
CUST.SERV.REP: No.
SEN.KEN: What if I said I was thinking about switching parties?
CUST.SERV.REP: Please hold the line, sir. I need to talk to my supervisor.
[Static. Hold Music: "God Bless the USA" by Lee Greenwood. Elapsed time: two minutes]
CUST.SERV.REP: Sir, I have been authorized to offer you our premium package. The pizza, of course, and anything else from our extensive hot-snacks menu, and in addition, seven consecutive days at a participating Starwood Hotel property, including its award-winning Westin Resorts collection. Air fare for you and a guest, business class, unless only two levels of service are available, in which case, first class. Airport transfers, full American plan meal service—
SEN.KEN: That's the uh one that includes uh lunch, right?
CUST.SERV.REP: Correct, sir. Matching-logo luggage tags, discounted car rental, welcome gift and room amenity upon check-in—
SEN.KEN: All this just for uh switching parties?
CUST.SERV.REP: Um . . . no, sir. This is for promising not to.

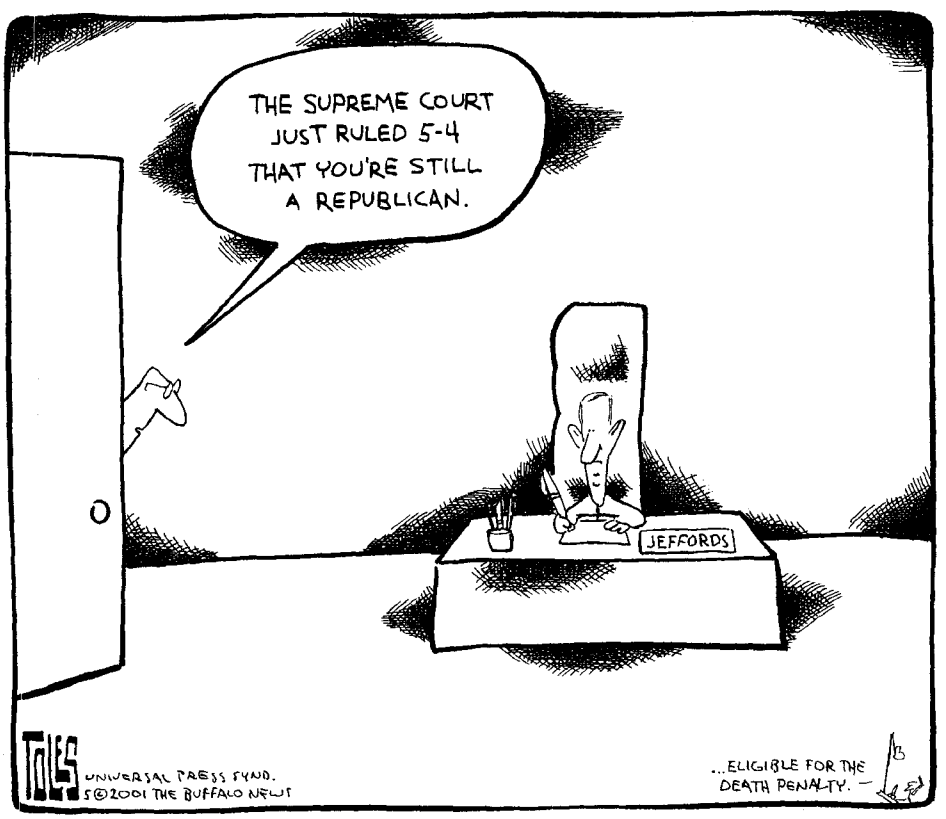
[END TRANSCRIPT]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP!!!!



"This black hole research project of yours—
where's all the money going?"


THE SUPREME COURT JUST RULED 5-4 THAT YOU'RE STILL A REPUBLICAN.
JEFFORDS
TOLES
UNIVERSAL PRESS SYND.
©2001 THE BUFFALO NEWS
...ELIGIBLE FOR THE DEATH PENALTY.

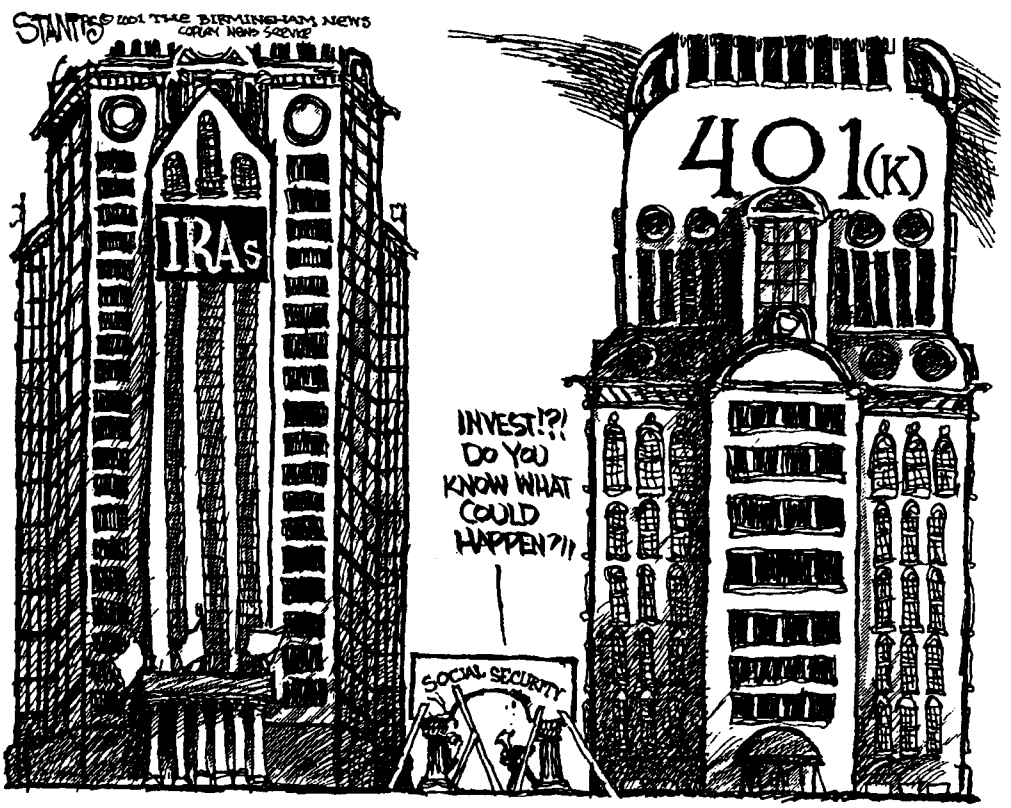
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SUICIDE BOMBER

LOUSY INTELLIGENCE

A Rutland paper ran the buzz
About two months ago;
Then Daschle dangled chairmanships
That made the juices flow.
The plot, now thick as maple sap,
Continued to mature
Till Jeffords met the president
As Lott slogged through manure.

—W. H. VON DREELE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books, Arts & Manners

World Class

MIDGE DECTER

Does America Need a Foreign Policy? Toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century, by Henry Kissinger (Simon & Schuster, 318 pp., $30)

WHY is it that, even though Henry Kissinger has beyond any doubt become the most honored elder in the world of foreign affairs, writing about him these days stirs in one the impulse to begin by defending him? It can hardly be claimed that society has treated him in any way shabbily: Has anyone else out of power for more than twenty years continued to be so actively sought out for his counsel and blessing? On the other hand, there are certain corners of allegedly respectable society in which the standing order with respect to him has from the first been "Shoot before you see the whites of his eyes"—the most recent case being that of the unforgivable Christopher Hitchens.

It seems likely that the disturbance over Kissinger was, at the outset, occasioned mainly by envy, perhaps tinged with xenophobia, at the idea that a German Jewish refugee boy who had not even shed his accent was walking the world with kings. By now, however, the obsessive ill will appears to have become a thing unto itself, such issues as Vietnam or the shah of Iran or the overturn of Chilean Communism being no more than mere stimuli to get the venom flowing. Add to this the way Kissinger came to be wholly blamed for Vietnam by the very liberals who had been responsible for entangling us there in the first place, and on the other side blamed for the policy of détente with the Soviet Union by the committed Cold Warriors (among whom this reviewer was by all means to be counted).

Henry Kissinger by Ismael Roldan

This is one of the things that make reviewing a book by Kissinger a somewhat complicated undertaking. For how to take issue with him without, to borrow from Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "joining the jackals"? Another difficulty is that, beginning with the memoirs of his years in the White House, and later in the State Department, he has become such a beguiling writer. And often much better than beguiling: His memoirs, taken all together, comprise what will surely be a permanent classic. He can summarize a long-ago historical process—as in his recent volume *Diplomacy*, covering international affairs from 1648 to the present—so vividly that one will never again have to find oneself slogging glumly through its details. And when it comes to advocacy, he can be dangerously seductive: Buy a ticket to just one of his assumptions, and before you know it, you are apt to discover that getting back home is going to be a pretty arduous journey.

Such is certainly the case with this book. It would be hard to name anyone else who might even have undertaken such a job. For in fewer than 300 pages of text he whisks one around the entire world, offering analyses of America's interests, or lack of same, in Western Europe, Central Europe, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, East Asia, Africa, and Latin America—along with detailed accounts of the current conditions disfavoring those interests and how to overcome them. Many passages are very much like those brilliant memos Kissinger used to send to Nixon analyzing one of the foreign-policy problems besetting his administration. Take the following brief paragraph (chosen at random):

> The Republic of Korea sees in its alliance with the United States a way both to preserve its independence and to promote Korean reunification. Despite its democratic institutions, of which it has every reason to be proud, Korea's foreign policy is not driven by Wilsonian principles. More afraid of democratic Japan than of autocratic China, South Korea will not participate in crusades to alter the domestic structure of any Asian state, least of all China, which it needs to balance its relations with North Korea, Japan, and Russia.

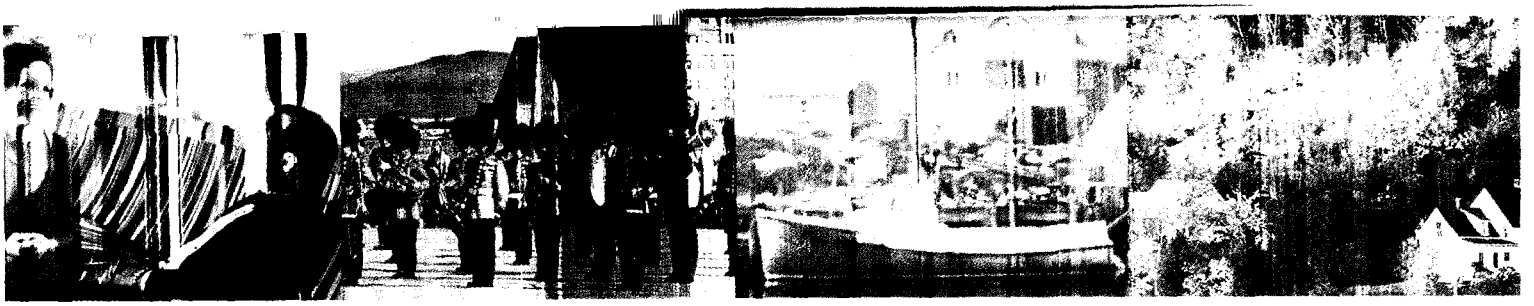
It is hard to resist a mind that moves with such graceful speed through the muck of politics and history. Nixon, to name only one, obviously did not.

Moreover, in recent years a new piquancy has been added to the Kissingerian analysis, namely the tang of the covert polemic. That use of the word "autocratic" to characterize present-day China, for example, is of no special sig-

Midge Decter's new book, *An Old Wife's Tale: My Seven Decades in Love and War*, will be published by ReganBooks in September.

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

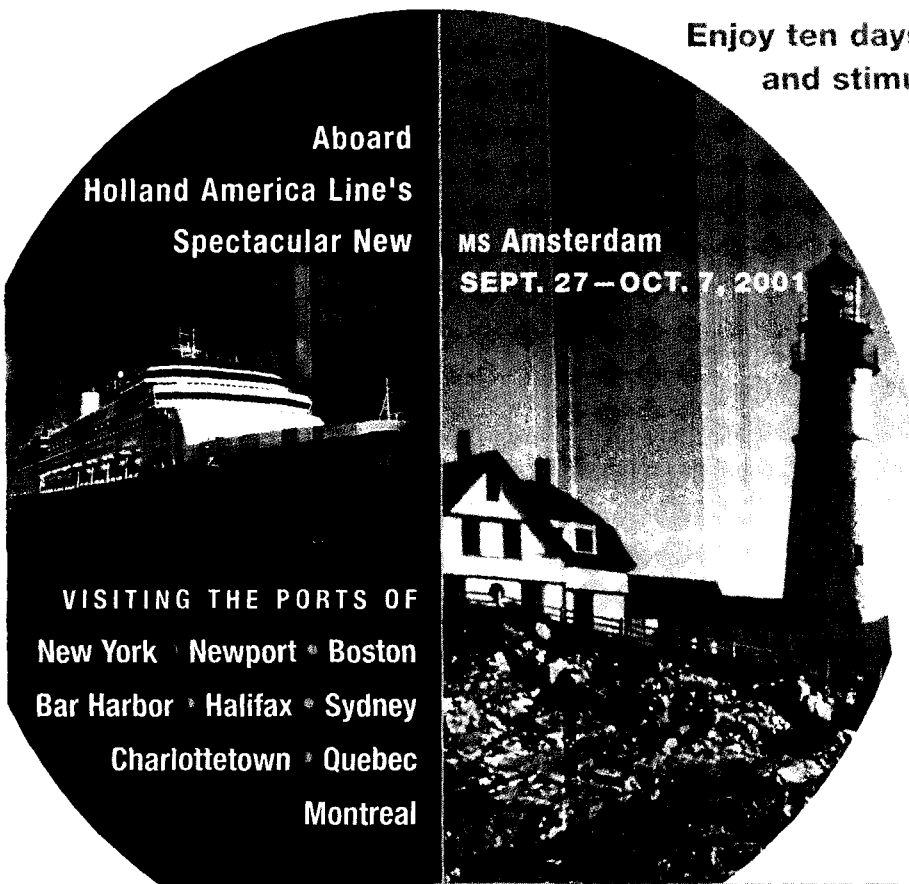


YOU ARE ABOUT TO EMBARK UPON A TRULY ONCE-IN-A-LIFETIME EXPERIENCE

The National Review 2001

A/NEW

Aboard
Holland America Line's
Spectacular New
MS Amsterdam
SEPT. 27 – OCT. 7, 2001



VISITING THE PORTS OF
New York • Newport • Boston
Bar Harbor • Halifax • Sydney
Charlottetown • Quebec
Montreal

Enjoy ten days of glorious autumnal colors and stimulating conservative talk with

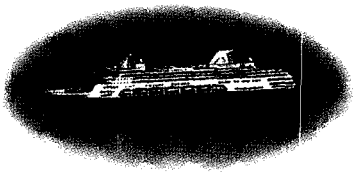
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.
ROBERT BORK
ROBERT NOVAK
LINDA CHAVEZ
VERNON WALTERS
RICHARD ALLEN
RICHARD LOWRY
KATE O'BEIRNE
JOHN O'SULLIVAN
RAMESH PONNURU
JAY NORDLINGER

DEADLINE EXTENDED: FREE 'HISTORIC BOSTON' TOUR & $100 P/P CABIN CREDIT IF YOU RESERVE YOUR STATEROOM BY JUNE 30TH!

As you sail on Holland America Line's elegant new MS *Amsterdam*, with beautiful New England and Canada, ablaze in the glorious colors of the fall season, serving as your stunning natural backdrop, you will enjoy ten days of luxury cruising, superior socializing, gourmet dining, and stimulating political discussions with Bill Buckley, the editors of *National Review*, and leading conservative speakers. Register now to join us on what is sure to be a once-in-a-lifetime travel experience.

Holland America
A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



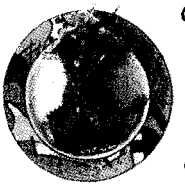
The National Review 2001

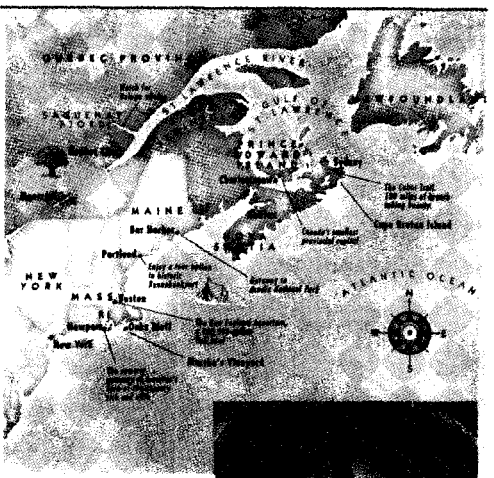
CANADA/NEW ENGLAND "FALL FOLIAGE" CRUIS

TEN DAYS OF LUXURY CRUISING AND CONSERVATIVE REVELR

DAY 1 You arrive in New York City and board Holland America Line's stunning new MS *Amsterdam*. After getting settled in your spacious cabin, you explore the ship and take in its luxury, comfort, and elegance (so many antiques!). In the late afternoon, we depart the Big Apple, gracefully sailing by Lady Liberty. At night, feast on a gourmet meal (this may be one of the nights when you dine intimately with *NR* editors or guest speakers!), after which there is so much to do: maybe an exciting Broadway-style show, or a quiet cocktail at the piano bar. Whatever you do, you'll find sweet dreams awaiting you in your pleasant quarters.

DAY 2 After a delicious breakfast, you tour Newport: Witness the lavish excesses of this fabled city's Gilded Age by visiting the summer "cottages" of the Vanderbilts, Astors, and Morgans. Come afternoon, it's time for the first of six *National Review* seminars: Each of these exciting, two-hour panel sessions will feature stimulating discussions and debates (plus plenty of "Q&A") from a bevy of conservative all-stars. And what a group we will have on hand to discuss politics and policy: Joining **William F. Buckley Jr.**, will be jurist supreme **Robert Bork**, columnist **Robert Novak**, conservative cultural expert **Linda Chavez**, former Reagan National Security Adviser **Richard Allen**, the incomparable General **Vernon Walters**, the man who knows everybody who is anybody (via stints as CIA boss, ambassador to the U.N. and West Germany, Ike aide, and much more), UPI Editor-in-Chief (and *NR* Editor-at-Large) **John O'Sullivan**, plus the *NR* editorial "gang" of **Kate O'Beirne**, **Rich Lowry**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and **Jay Nordlinger**. Afterwards, relax: Catch an invigorating Indian Summer breeze on the Sky Deck, or use your $100 (per person!) cabin credit (our gift to you if you book by June 30) to indulge yourself with a soothing massage, or to book an additional tour. Then at 6:30 join the *NR* crowd for the first of our exclusive, fun-filled social events: tonight, a cocktail reception in the Crow's Nest Lounge (enjoy the top-shelf liquor, hot hors d'oeuvres, great music, and fantastic company!). Next: another delicious dinner (maybe at the intimate Odyssey Restaurant), followed by a wonderful evening with new-found friends.





SO VERY MUCH TO DO: HOW CAN YOU NOT COME?!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Thursday/Sept. 27	New York		4:45PM	
Friday/Sept. 28	Newport, R.I.	7:00AM	3:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Saturday/Sept. 29	Boston, Mass.	7:30AM	6:00PM	**FREE** tour of historic Boston late-night poolside smoker
Sunday/Sept. 30	Bar Harbor, Me.	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Monday/Oct. 1	Halifax, N.S.	8:00AM	5:30PM	afternoon seminar
Tuesday/Oct. 2	Sydney, N.S.	7:00AM	6:30PM	
Wednesday/Oct. 3	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	7:00AM	3:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Thursday/Oct. 4	Saguenay Fjord	Scenic Cruising		morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Friday/Oct. 5	Quebec	8:00AM		
Saturday/Oct. 6	Quebec	5:00PM		morning seminar evening cocktail reception
Sunday/Oct. 7	Montreal	8:00AM		

DAY 3 Breakfast in bed? Why not? Let the *Amsterdam*'s staff, renowned for its superio service, pamper you. A grea day is in store: If you've signe up by June 30, you're *NR*' guest for an extensive tour o historic Boston. Trinity Church Beacon Hill, the Publi Gardens, "Old Ironsides," th State House, Faneuil Hall King's Chapel, the Old North Church, Harvard Yard: They're all stops on this special excursion, which is our gift to you. Tonight, after another great dinner, stop by *NR*'s poolside "smoker," featuring classic **H. Upmann** cigars and cognac!

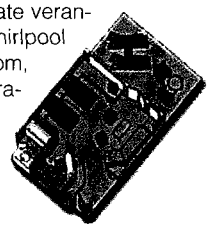
DAY 4 Yes, you *are* having that much fun. Congratulate yourself for coming. You love the ship, you're making new friends. That was a pleasant breakfast with an *NR* editor and fascinating dinner conversation with a guest speaker. And such sights! *NR*'s "Fall

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPECTACULAR, AFFORDABLE, LUXURIOUS ACCOMMODATIONS

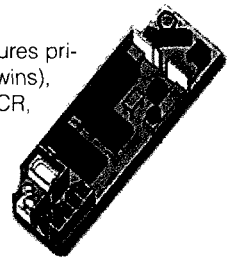
Travel experts agree: Holland America Line offers high-valued premium cruising. Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Amsterdam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through HAL), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: $1,599 for ages 2 and older, $799 for children younger than 2.

SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge servce, complimentary personalized stationery, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, plus special disembarkation privileges.



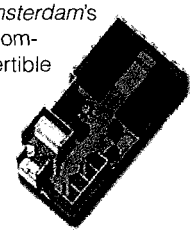
Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 14,999

MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.



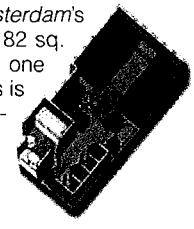
Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,399 P/P
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 11,399
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,199 P/P
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 11,099

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Amsterdam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,599 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,399

LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Amsterdam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,399

Foliage" cruise really *is* the opportunity of a lifetime. Today the *Amsterdam* is in Bar Harbor. Once the summer rival of Newport, this fabled town is rich in the legacy of the 19th-century millionaires. Explore Acadia National Park. Or take the city tour, where you'll clip-clop along tranquil trails in a horse-drawn carriage.

DAY 5 O Canada! We have arrived . . . in Halifax, the capital and cultural center of Nova Scotia and the "Maritimes." With granite boulders pounded by crashing surf, and lighthouses standing sentinel on rocky ledges, the ocean scenery is unrivaled. The city tour includes Halifax Citadel National Park, where the ramparts of a famous British fort and panoramic views await. Topping off this great day is another scintillating *National Review* seminar.

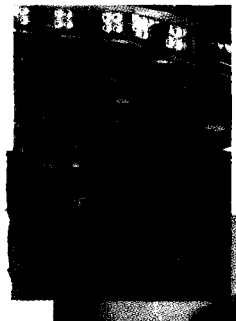
DAY 6 Sydney, Nova Scotia, is today's memorable stop. Cape Breton Island is so green and Gaelic. Explore the scenic 184-mile-long Cabot Trail, or tour the Fortress of Louisbourg, meticulously restored to its 1744 mint condition.

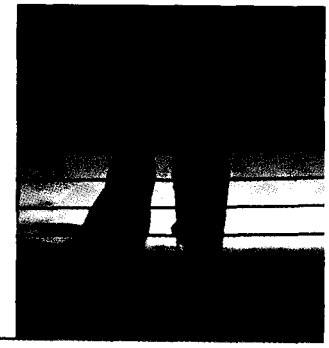
DAY 7 Charming Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, known for its red, sandy beaches, is a provincial capital with a distinctly English feel, where red double-decker buses motor along streets lined with gingerbread-trimmed Victorian houses. Visit Cavendish and the farmhouse immortalized in *Anne of Green Gables*. Why not try sea kayaking, or biking on the Confederation Trail, or a coastline nature walk? There's so much to do, *and* there's an *NR* seminar this afternoon, followed by a delightful cocktail reception.

DAY 8 Today we cruise Saguenay Fjord. Carved by a massive glacier at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers, it will awe you with its 1,000-foot cliffs, tree-lined peaks, hidden coves, and frolicking Beluga whales. Catch these between morning and afternoon *NR* seminars. And tonight, there's another relaxing poolside "smoker" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars and cognac.

DAYS 9 AND 10 *Mon Dieu!* We'll spend *two* days in Quebec, the noble walled city with a French accent. Stroll Old Quebec's maze of cobbled streets, with quaint sidewalk cafés, boutiques, and antique shops. Tour Montmorency Falls, higher than Niagara. Promenade down the tree-lined Grand-Alle. Visit the renowned Basilica of Ste Anne de Beaupré, the Place Royale, the "Plains of Abraham," and the fabled Château Frontenac. Our final full day will feature another *NR* seminar, plus a farewell cocktail reception, where we'll toast a wonderful trip and new friendships.

AND FINALLY The *Amsterdam* reaches the destinantion port of Montreal on October 7. You'll disembark with memories that will last a lifetime. But, if you desire, the melody can "linger on": Consider an overnight stay to explore this cosmopolitan center of French Canada, or take a three-night "post cruise" package designed especially by Holland America. *Au revoir, nos amis!*





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Review 2001 Canada/New England Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

1 Personal

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin) _____

Street Mailing Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

( ) _____
Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.) _____

2 Payment

A deposit of $1,500 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $1,500 per cabin is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Each time you use the National Review *credit card to make a purchase, the card's issuer, MBNA America Bank, N.A., will make a contribution to* National Review.

_____
Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to May 25, 2001*	*$75 per person*	
May 26, 2001 to June 27, 2001	*$750 per person*	
AFTER *June 27, 2001*	*100% of cruise*	*319A*

3 Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy. Single rates available upon request. Air/Sea rates include round-trip air and transfers from select gateways, all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to New York and Montreal.

☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).

☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $32 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

Citizenship: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If No, indicate citizenship: _____

IV. *PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES*

☐ Please send additional information on pre-cruise packages in New York and post-cruise packages in Montreal.

4 Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Amsterdam*. Children do not require photo ID.

CONDITIONS FOR PASSAGE: H2O, Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority or National Review Inc., its owners, agents, or employees accept no responsibility whatsoever for illness, accident, death, dismemberment, weather, strikes,, acts of God, or the accessibility, appearance, actions, or decisions of those individuals promoted for the cruise. Nor can the above-mentioned entities be held responsible for the actions of Holland America Line, participating air carriers, or shoreside personnel or subcontractors. Return of this application indicates full understanding and acceptance of these conditions for passage.

AIR TRAVEL: Let us make your air travel arrangements with **Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program**, which offers a convenient air program that includes round-trip, economy-class air transportation, motor-coach ground transportation, and all baggage transfers, from the following cities:

AK	Anchorage	959	FL	Fort Lauderdale	459	IA	Cedar Rapids	539	MO	Springfield	609	OH	Akron	509	TX	El Paso	639	WV	Huntington	459
AL	Birmingham	539		Jacksonville	459		Des Moines	539		St. Louis	509		Cincinnati	509		Houston (IAH)	539			
	Huntsville	539		Miami	459		Waterloo	589	MT	Billings	609		Cleveland	509		Lubbock	639		CANADA ($USD)	
	Mobile	539		Orlando	459	KS	Wichita	589	ND	Bismark	639		Columbus	509		McAllen	639			
	Montgomery	539		Pensacola	459	KY	Lexington	509		Fargo	639		Dayton	509		Midland/Odessa	639		Calgary	709
AR	Little Rock	609		Sarasota	459		Louisville	509		Grand Forks	639		*Toledo*	509		San Antonio	609		Edmonton	709
AZ	Phoenix	589		Tallahassee	459	LA	Baton Rouge	559	NE	Lincoln	609	OR	Portland	609	TN	Chattanooga	539		Montreal	339
	Tucson	609		Tampa	459		New Orleans	539		Omaha	559	PA	Allentown*	349		Knoxville	509		Ottawa	349
CA	Fresno	659	GA	Augusta	459		Shreveport	609	NV	Las Vegas	639		Erie	459		Memphis	559		Quebec	409
	Los Angeles	589		Atlanta	459	ME	*Portland*	459		Reno	659		Harrisburg*	349		Nashville	509		Regina	709
	Oakland	639		Savannah	459	MD	Baltimore*	329	NJ	Newark	219		Philadelphia*	329		Tri-Cities	509		Saskatoon	709
	Ontario	639	HI	Honolulu	1009	MA	Boston*	319	NM	Albuquerque	609		Pittsburgh	459	UT	Salt Lake City	609		St. Johns	589
	Orange County	659	ID	Boise	609	MI	Detroit	509	NY	Buffalo	459	RI	Providence*	349	VA	Lynchburg	459		Toronto	389
	Sacramento	569	IL	Champaign	609		Flint	509		New York	219	SC	Charleston	459		Norfolk	459		Vancouver	709
	San Diego	639		Chicago	509		Grand Rapids	509		Rochester	459		Columbia	459		Richmond	459		Victoria	739
	San Francisco	589		Moline	609		Lansing	509		Syracuse	459		Greenville	459	WA	Seattle	609		Winnipeg	709
	San Jose	659		Peoria	559		Saginaw	509	NC	Charlotte	459	SD	Rapid City	609		Spokane	609			
CO	Col. Springs	639		Springfield	609	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	539		Greensboro	459	TX	Amarillo	659	WI	Green Bay	509			
	Denver	589	IN	Evansville	509		Rochester	559		Raleigh/Durham	459		Austin	639		Madison	559			
CT	Hartford*	329		Ft. Wayne	509	MS	Jackson	559	OK	Oklahoma City	609		Corpus Christi	639		Milwaukee	509			
DC	Washington*	329		Indianapolis	509	MO	Kansas City	509		Tulsa	609		Dallas/Ft. Worth	509	WV	Charleston	459			

* = Motorcoach may be used from these cities to NYC at the discretion of Holland America Line.

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the Amsterdam (Cruise Terminal of New York) are not included; the distance from airport to cruise ship varies by airport. Schedule your arrival in New York leaving plenty of time for flight delays and traffic in New York! You should arrive in New York no later than 12:30pm on September 27th. Your return flight from Montreal should not be arranged before 12:00noon on October 7th. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $50pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure. 5. Transfers are available for purchase from the New York area airports for $32 per person, and must be arranged for in advance via The Cruise Authority.

LICENSED TO ONZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nificance to his analysis of the likely behavior of South Korea but rather bespeaks long days and nights of argy-bargy with certain of his critics about whether or how much the introduction of a relatively free market has really sufficed to lift the long murderous darkness of Chinese totalitarianism. As does that use of the adjective "Wilsonian," bringing to mind Woodrow Wilson's record of having high-mindedly left the world an even nastier and more dangerous place than he found it. But to those uninitiated in the ins and outs of Kissinger's long contention with a certain group of neoconservatives, such signals may do no more than add spice to the general flavor.

The underlying basis of all his analysis is the question of what serves the national interest, defined in classical diplomatic terms—which is to say, the interest of the United States as it may be either pitted against or held in common with the interest of each of the countries that will unavoidably impinge on ours in coming years. As usual, this analysis, though brief, is thoroughly illuminating.

Also not surprisingly, the general answer to the question asked in the book's title is "Yes. And desperately." In recent years, he points out, for nothing more pressing than the convenience of domestic politics (his elegant way of referring to the antics of our recent president), America has taken on certain of the characteristics of a failing imperial power: most notably, the Clinton-style sending of troops to keep order in far-off places for no compelling reason of state. Meanwhile, in Kissinger's view, all over the world there are issues crying out for serious policy that are either being set aside, misdefined, or viewed purely through the lens of sentiment: Europe–NATO, India–Pakistan, Taiwan–China, South Korea–Japan, Brazil–Argentina, Gulf States–Israel, and so on. All of these are too important to be left to the occasion of make-or-break crisis, when it will be too late for anything but bloodshed. No doubt this is true, and no doubt we are destined to fumble badly somewhere along the line.

But, alas, there are more things in the affairs of men and nations than appear to be dreamed of in Henry Kissinger's philosophy. Take the outcome of his agreement with Le Duc Tho to settle the war in Vietnam, i.e., the famous Paris Accords: Everything depended on the willingness of the U.S. Congress to send our bombers back to Vietnam should the North violate the agreement and move to take over the South. But when the time came, Congress was not willing to do what Kissinger had promised. Why? Because, as anyone less taken with a belief in the powers of diplomacy could have seen, once the U.S. had finally extricated itself from Vietnam, not a soul would any longer agree to our continued involvement, whatever the consequence.

■

The United States is a reluctant giant, maintaining its great power only for the purpose of keeping others from abusing theirs.

■

As it happens, the role of the world's greatest power, on whose actions the fate of hundreds of millions, maybe billions, might depend, is an onerous one to its citizens. Kissinger must know this by now. We have not sought this role, except, as at the end of World War II, when there was no decent alternative; and even then we played it with no gusto. Whether a shortcoming or a virtue, this is, for both historical and geographic reasons, the situation any American leader has to deal with. In the same way—as, again, Henry Kissinger must surely have learned on his own flesh—this reluctant dragonhood has left us with an uneasy relation to the traditional concept of "interest." Along with being mindful of what best serves the country, one must also understand the role of sentiment in determining America's relation to the world, including feelings like cultural loyalty, anger, obligation, and yes, piety.

To be sure, this is not the strongest basis on which either to grasp the world—something at which Kissinger has no peer—or to manipulate it. And no doubt it sometimes drives a secretary of state worthy of the name to despair. But if one is required, for instance, to understand the nature of the Chinese beast, one must clearly do the same for the nature of the American. (And while, for instance, the whole world knows that the Chinese are very clever and even, when they are allowed to be, something beyond brilliant, it is impossible to believe that they, too, have not now and then made policy in an extremely irrational way having nothing to do with what in the long run will serve them best.)

But these are quibbles. The point is that in surveying the world as the author does, he nevertheless takes insufficient account of the nonrational, extra-economic, historical, cultural—if you will, spiritual—quality of nations.

Now a book that took fully into account the element in world affairs that remains beyond the questions of national interest and hard-headed rationality would have to be twenty volumes long, and even so would undoubtedly leave us in a state of bafflement about what to think. Such a book would be of little use to a policymaker and way beyond depressing to a layman. Even so, it has to be said that, at least in the 20th century, the diplomatic habit of mind has led to far greater disaster than that which Kissinger chooses, in considerable measure unfairly, to call Wilsonian. Indeed, except for the somewhat scattered preoccupation with human rights—which has now and then, to be sure, constituted a needless impediment to sound and even decent policy—neither diplomacy nor Wilsonianism seems to describe the international behavior of the United States since World War II. Rather this behavior has been an odd amalgam of unprecedented generosity, hatred of slavery in all its forms—especially the totalitarian ones—the capacity for wasting America's worldly credit on such foolishness as nonproliferation and environmental treaties, and an unfortunate capacity to enter into wars (Korea, Vietnam, the Gulf) with no conceived or articulated purpose beyond that of restoring the status quo.

There are many ways to describe such an actor in the world, some of them no doubt far from flattering. But again, what must be recognized is that the United States is a reluctant giant, maintaining its great power only for the pur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pose of keeping others from abusing theirs. This is a tricky proposition, and certainly an often most unreliable one. And it turns out, no doubt to the confusion of our European friends, that the cleverest presidents, like, say, Nixon or Clinton, have done a poorer job at managing this role than the ostensibly more simple-minded Reagan (and, let us pray, Bush the Younger).

These observations are in no sense an indictment of Kissinger's continuing effort to make us understand the world. To hang out in the presence of his endlessly interesting mind for a few hundred, or many thousand, pages never fails to be an illuminating and even comforting experience. For he makes us feel as though the humanly intractable can, in the end, give way with but the right application of intelligence.

Alas, we can only wish that it were so, and must regret that it has proven not to be. **NR**

LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330

Retroactivist

ADAM WOLFSON

The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State, by Michael B. Katz (Metropolitan, 469 pp., $35)

In this age of multiculturalism, identity politics, the Third Way, and postmodernism, it's easy to forget what liberalism meant even 25 years ago. It was not about assembling a "cabinet that looked like America" or allowing gays to serve in the military or putting more cops on the streets. Nor was it about deconstructing the classics and eliminating "dead white males" from college curricula. Rather, it was mainly about expanding the welfare state begun by the likes of FDR and LBJ. Liberals of this persuasion dreamed of a classless society, and thought about how to bring capitalism to heel. They believed in raising taxes, redistributing income, creating new government programs, and nationalizing certain industries. The New Deal and the Great Society were the most tangible accomplishments of this liberal impulse; Walter Mondale, who in 1984 actually promised the American people a tax hike, typified it.

In the 1990s, this older kind of liberalism had perhaps its last hurrah. The unreconstructed liberals of the Clinton administration set their sights on nationalizing health care, only to be resoundingly defeated. Soon after, Bill Clinton declared the death of Big Government and signed historic legislation (forced on him by a Republican Congress) to repeal the federal entitlement to welfare. It was, to paraphrase Clinton, the end of liberalism as we had known it.

So it's nice to be reminded by Michael Katz—if only for nostalgia's sake—what liberalism once meant. A noted social historian at the University of Pennsylvania who writes about poverty and U.S. welfare policy, Katz is something of a dinosaur, an old-school welfare-state liberal who loathes capitalism and wants to bring back the days of Big and Bigger Government. His intellectual hero is Michael Harrington, to whom he dedicated an earlier book. Thus it's not surprising that Katz seems blissfully unaware of the large body of scholarly literature on why socialism can't work, and unconvinced by the failure of socialism everywhere its been tried. He also naïvely thinks that the redistributionist state can be sold to the American people, who have never shown much interest in it. In his latest book (partly written, as we learn from the acknowledgments, in the picturesque village of Oquossoc, Me.), he unapologetically defends the welfare state and calls for reversing the damage done to it by Newt Gingrich in league with the New Democrats.

Katz's architectonic idea is that over the last two decades, the ideal of social justice has been subordinated to market imperatives: "By tightening the links between benefits and employment, the late-twentieth-century welfare state has stratified Americans into first- and second-class citizens and undermined the effective practice of democracy," he argues. "Everywhere market price has superseded social justice."

A little explanation is in order. When Katz uses the term "welfare state," he does not have in mind simply public assistance such as food stamps. Rather, he means the entire structure of public and private assistance, from AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), Social Security, and Medicare, to soup kitchens for the homeless or employee benefits for those who work. In his view, this whole structure has been overturned by a few well-funded right-wing ideologues. Public aid has been revoked or made contingent on work, while nonprofits like the Red Cross have gone commercial, competing, for example, over the blood supply. The result, he argues, is not simply the end of Big Government but the end of both the national ideal and the idea of a common citizenship.

Katz's approach is best measured in his chapter on "The End of Welfare." In the most far-reaching social policy innovation of recent decades, Congress replaced AFDC, the nation's most important cash-assistance program, with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) in 1996. Drawing on the work of three conservative thinkers in particular—Charles Murray, Lawrence Mead, and

Mr. Wolfson is executive editor of *The Public Interest*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marvin Olasky—TANF transformed public assistance. Not only did it repeal the federal entitlement to aid, it also sought by various means to encourage work and discourage out-of-wedlock childbearing; for example, individuals were now limited to five years of assistance, and only two years without working. Coupled with charitable choice and, more recently, George W. Bush's faith-based initiatives, the conservative approach to welfare seeks to turn lives around, not subsidize their destruction. In contrast to the Left, which sees poverty as exclusively an economic problem, it emphasizes the broad behavioral and moral dimensions of poverty.

Although it is too early to say that TANF is an unqualified success, results so far are encouraging. By 1999, welfare rolls had fallen by 49 percent from their high of 5 million in 1994. This is unprecedented. As Douglas Besharov has pointed out, whether the economy has been healthy and growing, as in the period 1963–73, or weak and stagnant, as in 1989–94, welfare rolls have always grown at a fantastic clip. Of course, many questions remain, such as what will happen to the poorest in the event of an economic downturn. But all in all, TANF has been a remarkable improvement.

For Katz, however, it is an unmitigated disaster instigated by a few nefarious conservatives. Supposedly, Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation and Charles Murray of the American Enterprise Institute "manufactured" a welfare crisis based on "shoddy statistics and fallacious arguments." They then tricked a gullible public into accepting their vilification of the poor, who now, as a result, face hunger and malnutrition and second-class citizenship.

It is a sign of political maturity not to impugn the motives of your opponent. President Bush recently exhibited this trait by praising the "noble intentions" behind the War on Poverty begun by LBJ. In contrast, Katz employs the kind of overheated rhetoric found mainly in the pages of *The Nation*. Conservatism, he claims, took advantage of "the anger and confusion of ordinary Americans experiencing economic insecurity and a new racial order" so as to implement an anti-welfare-state agenda. The innovations of such pragmatic Republican mayors as Rudolph Giuliani and Stephen Goldsmith, and of such governors as Tommy Thompson and John Engler (a "disciple" of Russell Kirk), are described for the most part as failures. Conservative welfare policy is dismissed as "social Darwinism" with roots in the new science of sociobiology. Though Katz does not spell out what he means by this fanciful charge, the idea would seem to be of some great right-wing intellectual conspiracy encompassing E. O. Wilson, Charles Murray, and the Bradley Foundation. As for conservative proposals to save Social Security by partial privatization, Katz labels these efforts a "new class war."

Indeed, Katz takes a highly jaundiced view of American life in general. He describes a "new American city" in which "the office tower embodies the same economic processes as the sweatshop." Sinister corporations have lowered wages and cut benefits to compete in the new global economy. Crime is explained as "the translation of poverty, hopelessness, and frustration into rage." According to Katz, "America has responded to the chronic joblessness among inner-city minorities not with public work or support but with a new and hideously expensive form of public assistance: mass incarceration." He condemns the American people for caring more about "legislation protecting the flag" than entitlements for the poor, more about "the symbols of nationality than . . . the shared experiences that unite a people." Meanwhile, conservative ideologues have "racialized the undeserving poor, who now carry the triple stigma of sexual licentiousness, willful poverty, and race."

In the best tradition of the left-wing scholar-activist from Saul Alinsky to Frances Fox Piven, Katz ends his book with a call for "immediate action." He wishes to revive the old liberal agenda of not requiring work in exchange for benefits; restoring the federal entitlement to public assistance; and making health care a constitutional right. Yet if Katz is out of step with the American people, his views are typical for a certain kind of social-democratic college professor, not to mention the *New York Times*. Only in this small, cloistered world could the end of an entitlement that has done untold damage to the poor be construed as a public disaster. **NR**

"Flash: Read this book. *String of Pearls* is full of great stories, clear-as-a-bell memories, and laughs. A lost world of journalism lives again."
—Richard Brookhiser

"[A] vivid, evocative, and wildly funny memoir."
—Florence King

"This endearing little peep at her early life will delight."
—The Wall Street Journal

Priscilla L. Buckley takes a nostalgic and humorous look back at her fledgling days as a journalist during the end of World War II and in post-war Paris.

AVAILABLE NOW WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD

THOMAS DUNNE BOOKS
St. Martin's Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forgotten War

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

Fields of Light: A Son Remembers His Heroic Father, by Joseph Hurka (Pushcart Press, 220 pp., $24.50)

THROUGHOUT the Cold War, there was resistance in Soviet-occupied Europe to the imposition of Communism. Sometimes this involved spectacular and violent assertions of national identity, as in the 1953 uprising in East Germany, and the Hungarian revolution of 1956. In the face of secret-police repression, the struggle was more usually invisible. In Ukraine, in Poland, in the Baltic states especially, a few die-hard individuals and small groups kept alive the hope of armed resistance, and were sometimes in touch with émigrés and Western secret services. The history of such resistance lies in closed archives, and we have to make do with sketchy anecdotes.

At first, the Czechs appeared the most supine of the Soviet satellites. Numerically insignificant, the Communist parties of central and eastern Europe could not claim mass support. Dependent on the victorious Red Army, local Communists were further suspect as tools of a foreign power. The sole exception was Czechoslovakia, where the party gathered a third of the vote in elections. Even so, the Communists seized the country only by mounting a police coup, murdering such opponents as Jan Masaryk, the foreign minister, and imprisoning or forcing into exile tens of thousands of people. Notoriously, the St.B., or secret police, matched the KGB in deviousness and brutality. Yet under the surface, the will to repudiate Communism and reassert the national identity survived, as demonstrated by the Prague Spring of 1968, Charter 77, and finally the Velvet Revolution of 1989.

One who played his part in ensuring the continuity of Czech national identity was Josef Hurka. Born in the provincial town of Radnice, he had experienced firsthand the successive invasions of Nazism and Communism, escaped the country, and settled finally in Vermont. Evidently a masterful character and still very much alive, he told his son, also named Joseph, enough of this to root in him the allied emotions of Czech nationalism and love of freedom. *Fields of Light* is the son's tribute to the power of his father's stories. Beyond that, it reveals a brave man among the other hitherto unknown Czechs prepared to fight Communism in the aftermath of its illegitimate take-over.

It was already 1991 when Joseph Hurka, then in his twenties, left Vermont to visit the Czechoslovakia about which he had heard so much. His father's sister Mira had stayed behind the Iron Curtain, and she was in Prague to welcome him. This aunt and her friends showed him the city, with journeys farther afield to such well-known attractions as the castles of Karlstejn and Konopiste. The resulting guidebook passages and historical snippets are unfortunately banal, and sometimes downright silly. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand lived at Konopiste, to give an example, and until he was murdered at Sarajevo in 1914 he was one of the few people to advocate greater fairness for the ethnic minorities within the Habsburg empire. Hurka sees fit to ridicule him on the grounds that the castle is full of his hunting trophies.

When the Germans marched into Radnice in 1939, they entered the Hurka house. Some soldiers borrowed a mandolin for a sing-along, and this instrument survives today as an heirloom in Vermont. Josef was always unruly. He thrashed the school bully; he joined the national youth movement to enjoy its opportunities for adventure and sport, in particular skiing. At 16 he was sent into the coal mines, where he smuggled out sticks of dynamite ultimately used to sabotage the Germans.

Within a few years, Josef was commissioned as an officer in the Czech army and stationed at the air-force academy, an anti-Communist stronghold. Seizing power, the Communists were nonetheless highly insecure, and they were bound to try to enroll a patriot like Josef. Failing that, they manufactured a case against him in standard Communist fashion, arresting him on a charge of treason, and putting him in the notorious Pankrac prison where he was one of the 27,000 prisoners who passed through during the Communist take-over. Freed after some months, he determined to resist by whatever means were available.

■

Here was a hero who went to extremes to keep alive the belief in a democratic future.

■

With the code name of Vlasta, Josef became a member of one among other clandestine Czech cells. It fell to him and a colleague, a forester identified only as Pista, to smuggle out of the country Dr. Josef Macek, an eminent democratic politician and potential Czech president, along with his wife. In a fraught journey on foot through snowy mountains into West Germany, they succeeded in evading the border guards. With quite as much difficulty Pista and he then returned home for a life underground, moving from one safe house to another. In subsequent actions, Pista was gunned down by the secret police, and Hurka, who exchanged shots with them, was wounded and lucky to escape with his life. A wanted man, in 1950 he crossed the mountains into Germany and exile.

Here was a hero, then, who went to extremes to keep alive the belief in a democratic future. This book is valuable insofar as it lifts the veil of secrecy lying over militancy against Communism. At the very least, the Communists knew that there were people who would rather be dead than red.

The American secret services, we learn further, were paying Josef and his group, though it is not said by what means or in what amounts. Once in Germany, Josef continued his resistance work for the next seven years. The U.S. government paid to house him in Bavaria. Allowed privileged credentials, he was by turns a U.S. Air Force captain,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a meteorologist, and a colonel in the Norwegian army; Hurka says of his father rather melodramatically that he was "held by no laws." Asked outright if he was a CIA agent, he prevaricated, and Hurka concludes, "his participation was more military." What this means is anyone's guess.

It is tantalizing that this son did not manage to put to his father the questions that might have drawn out a more complete story. And why does the father not speak for himself and write his autobiography? In 1992, he was officially cleared of all the charges invented by the Communists, rehabilitated, and offered a pension. Czechoslovakia is now the Czech Republic, free and democratic, but unlike his son Josef Hurka has not been there even as a tourist. Once a secret agent always a secret agent, presumably, but it would be good to learn more details about deeds well done in those grim years. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

"If everything else in our language should perish, [the King James Version of the Bible] would alone suffice to show the whole extent of its beauty and power." In these famous words, Thomas Babington Macaulay was speaking for the consensus of his own age, and ours as well. If anything, the decline of traditional faith has only increased the mystique of the King James Version: The agnostic in the faculty lounge may not share a religious creed with the translators of 1611, but he places their work on the same literary level as that of their contemporary, Shakespeare. In a genuinely ironic turn of the word's history, he elevates the KJV to "canonical" status.

The enduring fascination of this work is demonstrated yet again by the simultaneous publication of two new histories, Benson Bobrick's *Wide as the Waters: The Story of the English Bible and the Revolution It Inspired* (Simon & Schuster, 379 pp., $26) and Alister McGrath's *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible and How It Changed a Nation, a Language, and a Culture* (Doubleday, 340 pp., $24.95). Both books succeed admirably in detailing the historical context—both religious and political—out of which the KJV grew. In the 14th century, John Wycliffe challenged the established English church of his time, insisting, among other things, that the Bible be made available in the language of the common man. In the 15th century, Wycliffe's theological writings had a deep influence on Reformation protomartyr Jan Hus (who even translated one of Wycliffe's tracts into Czech). In the 16th century, arch-Reformer Martin Luther declared: "We are all of us Hussites." At the beginning of the 17th century, the circle was closed: In Wycliffe's own country, James I—the king, and therefore head of the established state religion—commissioned a vernacular translation of the Bible.

McGrath and Bobrick tell the same story at roughly the same length; their style, too, is similar, with Bobrick's account ever so slightly breezier and more journalistic. A reader interested in the history of the English Bible might well begin with either of these books, and continue with a couple of others. *A History of the English Bible as Literature* by David Norton (Cambridge, 484 pp., $29.95) takes the story of the KJV up to the present day. Just as the KJV itself was not intended to be a translation from scratch, but rather an attempt to improve, where possible, the work of William Tyndale and other early translators, many subsequent versions were revisions of the KJV—including the Revised Version (1885), the Revised Standard Version (1952), and the New Revised Standard Version (1990).

The publication of any new version was, and is, typically greeted with a chorus of disapproval, as critics proclaim the obvious superiority of the original. But as Norton points out, the KJV itself did not meet with immediate acceptance: "However fine the English of the translators . . . now seems, no one in their time appreciated it. It was all too obviously poor, if it was worth considering at all." Indeed, the goal to which the translators aspired was not literary felicity, but utter faithfulness to the meaning of the original. If that meant a particular sentence would sound clunky to the modern ears of 1611, so be it. It is a tribute to their faithfulness, and to the power of the Hebrew and Greek originals, that the KJV has not only outlasted its critics, but become enshrined as a masterpiece in its own right.

Probably the best book on English translations of the Bible is sadly out of print, but well worth seeking out in libraries and secondhand bookshops. *The English Bible from KJV to NIV: A History and Evaluation* by Jack P. Lewis was published by the evangelical Baker Book House in 1981 (2nd ed., 1991), and it offers an excellent, detailed comparative analysis of all of the major translations. The book shows Lewis himself to be a man of unusually generous spirit: Even as he grapples with thousands of lexical and theological details, specifying where, in his view, each translation succeeds and fails, he does not succumb to the academic partisanship such scholarly work often entails. In the end, he says, "translation . . . is a human process; it is not a divinely inspired one. The expectation of a perfect translation is [therefore] a vain hope . . . The religious problems of the world are not caused by people reading different translations; the most serious problem is that many read no translation" at all.

Such humility about translations—from someone who has clearly devoted years to studying their minutiae—is quite in the tradition of the KJV translators themselves. They were not self-consciously artistic as they set about their work; but while they were humble about their task, there is nothing modest about their accomplishment.

—MICHAEL POTEMRA

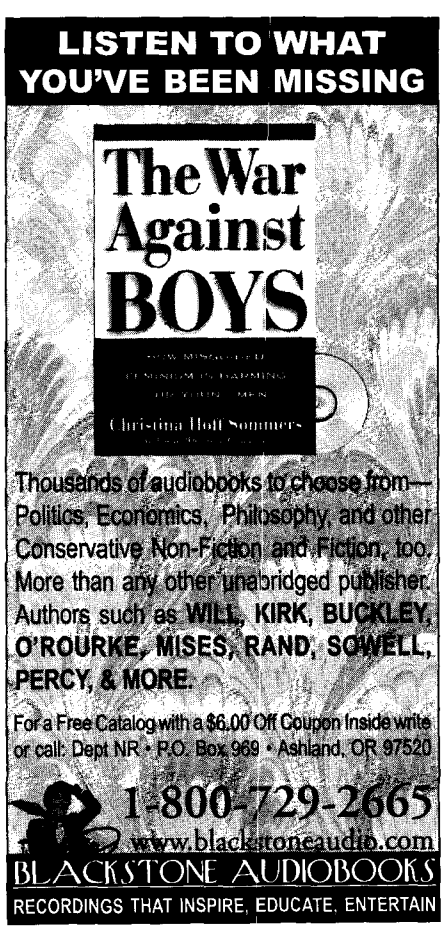
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let 'em Eat Cake

JOHN D. GARTNER

As Good As I Could Be: A Memoir of Raising Wonderful Children in Difficult Times, by Susan Cheever (Simon & Schuster, 192 pp., $23)

HAVING thrown out all the old rules about raising children, today's parents must "make it up as they go along"—which leaves a lot of room for mistakes. Susan Cheever has been appropriately terrified, since she first gave birth to a daughter 18 years ago, that she might not get it right. Her well-written memoir about being a parent—a sequel to her previous bestseller about being a child of novelist John Cheever—speaks to the experience of many raised in the '60s and '70s, who now have children themselves.


LISTEN TO WHAT YOU'VE BEEN MISSING
The War Against BOYS
Christina Hoff Sommers
Thousands of audiobooks to choose from—Politics, Economics, Philosophy, and other Conservative Non-Fiction and Fiction, too. More than any other unabridged publisher. Authors such as WILL, KIRK, BUCKLEY, O'ROURKE, MISES, RAND, SOWELL, PERCY, & MORE.
For a Free Catalog with a $6.00 Off Coupon Inside write or call: Dept NR • P.O. Box 969 • Ashland, OR 97520
1-800-729-2665
www.blackstoneaudio.com
BLACKSTONE AUDIOBOOKS
RECORDINGS THAT INSPIRE, EDUCATE, ENTERTAIN

Typical of the '60s intelligentsia, Cheever's parents optimistically believed their children knew best, and jettisoned their role as authority figures: "There were never any limits on where I could go or what I could do. My parents seemed to believe that I knew how to behave as well as they did." Susan's school did not share this belief, and she was "almost kicked out" for violating rules she contemptuously found absurd. Happily, she was transferred to the Woodstock Country School, where they let her do what she wanted. Cheever herself later became a teacher at a similar alternative school, believing that "the key to teaching was to abdicate the fortress of phony authority." But when she became a parent she discovered, to her great surprise, that kids are "hungry for rules" and "want order."

Cheever is not advocating a return to the ways of our grandparents—which she says have been destroyed forever, "for good and evil," over the last twenty years. Instead she proclaims that today's child-rearing generation has been given the task of "reinventing parenthood." Our grandparents ruled by "divine right," but we must create "loving authority," which is "flexible and humorous." Cheever seems to believe that before 1960 all children were treated like Oliver Twist: "They were whipped if they disobeyed. Their schools were more like prisons than playgrounds."

As a psychologist (and father), I have observed that today's parents operate under two fallacious and mutually contradictory assumptions, both apparent in this book. On the one hand, they believe that children are little adults, fully capable of reasoned judgments about their behavior. On the other, they believe that children are simply big infants, incapable of tolerating even the most minor frustration.

While Cheever decries the "little adult" fallacy in principle, her behavior suggests that she buys into it. When her daughter announced in fifth grade that she was going to become a witch, Cheever, as she proudly recounts, not only tolerated this decision but allowed her daughter to build an altar in the closet. When her daughter's father and stepmother banned witchcraft from their apartment, her daughter decided "with much heartbreak all around—she didn't want to spend the night there anymore." Since when do ten-year-old girls have the power to divorce their fathers—conveniently, when he enforces rules she doesn't like? Cheever did her daughter no favor granting her this destructive power. When we give children control over adult decisions, they feel out of control.

When Cheever does set a limit, she does it like other modern parents, with neurotic ambivalence and self-doubt. When she was five, her daughter wanted to paint her room black, with carpet to match. Lacking the guts to just say no, Cheever told her daughter that the store had run out of black paint. Thirteen years later she still obsesses over this decision: "Maybe that was a mistake. She's 18 now and still wearing black."

■

Susan Cheever seems to believe that before 1960 all children were treated like Oliver Twist.

■

Evidence of the "big infant" fallacy quite literally stares us in the face. On the front and back covers of the book is a picture of a teddy bear nicknamed "Me," who is the subject of the book's opening chapter, entitled "the real Me." All children choose what the British psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott called a "transitional object," a precious mommy substitute—usually a blanket or stuffed toy—that helps them make the shift from infancy to childhood. Normally it is adopted at two, loved fiercely, and then abandoned by six or seven, when it is no longer needed. As her daughter's beloved Me became tattered with wear, Cheever panicked. She reported dreams to her psychiatrist in which Me "disappeared or disintegrated as I watched helplessly." Rather than allow the precious Me to decay naturally, Cheever bought dozens of bears for spare parts, and secretly repaired him at night, for years. To this day, Me sleeps at the end of

John D. Gartner is a clinical assistant professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her grown daughter's bed. Cheever's mantra in this book is that once she became a parent, she had to grow up. Apparently, it was to ensure her daughter wouldn't have to.

But has Cheever grown up? She seems bewildered that her stepdaughter holds against her the affair Cheever had with her father, which resulted in the breakup of the young girl's family. "This seemed unfair . . . I hadn't exactly invented adultery . . ." No wonder her advice for raising "wonderful children" sounds like a recipe for creating narcissists.

When Cheever's son was four, he had an hour-long tantrum on the floor of Grand Central Station. Upon disembarking from a train, he had asked his mother for cake; she then dutifully took him through the station in search of the object of his desire. When the man behind the deli counter began to slice him a piece of chocolate cake, he screamed, "I want cake," meaning the entire thing. Cheever was reduced to helplessness. "In retrospect it seems to me I should have bought the whole cake and taken it home in a box." What? That would have rewarded the tantrum—the worst thing she could have done.

Cheever thinks that tantrums are a "dialogue" in which children communicate their needs, and her sympathy is with the suffering child who can't always get what he wants: "Being a child is hard because there are so many no's . . . they live with a level of powerlessness that would make many adults explode." If her "powerless" son was powerful enough to humiliate her in Grand Central Station for an hour, surely he was strong enough to live with just one slice of cake. What Cheever misunderstands is that a tantrum is a power struggle, one the child must lose to win the benefits of a healthy character. The alternative is character disorder—a narcissist who feels entitled to the whole cake.

Our generation has indeed reinvented parenthood along the lines Cheever suggests—that much is apparent to anyone who has spent an afternoon at a mall or soccer field, and heard parents plead with their surly offspring. We have lost the authority to civilize and socialize children, and, sooner than we think, our big babies will be running the world. **NR**

■ FILM ■

Too Many Zeros

JOHN SIMON

How much history can $135,000,000 buy you? Quite a bit, as the three-hour movie ***Pearl Harbor*** rousingly demonstrates. It can buy you enough digitally and otherwise created special effects to make the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor nearly as enormous as the real thing, and offer a history lesson that, whether or not it reaches the brain, certainly dilates the eye.

What that tidy little sum cannot buy—at least not in Hollywood—is a decent screenplay and a bearable score. To start with the latter, though scarcely lesser, evil: Hans Zimmer is the kind of vulgar hack who is limited to composing two sorts of music, the soupily derivative and the oafishly bloated. And—doubtless with the director, Michael Bay, urging him on—he never subsides. Even during the Japanese air-and-sea raid, the wretched music churns away in the background instead of just allowing the bombs and torpedoes, the aircraft and anti-aircraft guns their own awesome symphony of death and destruction, which can obliterate all except the one thing it ought to: the music of Hans Zimmer. Hard to tell which is deadlier: his minced Tchaikovsky or his homogenized Rachmaninov.

The screenplay by Randall Wallace—one of those that do not know the difference between *lie* and *lay*—gives us all the bromides of Forties war movies and Fifties tearjerkers, as enlisted men crack creaky jokes or face death with a cliché, and lovers exult in mushy embraces or tear up in a hail of platitudes sprinkled with cutesiness.

The love story concerns two bosom buddies, Rafe (Ben Affleck) and Danny (Josh Hartnett), who already as small boys in Tennessee tried to fly a dust-cropper biplane, and by 1941 have grown into valiant army pilots. Lieu-

Prudent Bear Fund

52.51%
12 Month Return
(period ending 3/31/01)

Could you use some bear market protection?

For a prospectus and more information call 1-888-PRU-BEAR

The Prudent Bear Fund no load shares total return for the 12 months ending March 31, 2001 was 52.5%, and its 5 year return was -7.9%, and average annual return since inception (Dec. 29, 1995) through March 31, 2001 was -8.4%. Performance data quoted represents past performance, which is no guarantee of future results. You should realize that investment return and principal value will fluctuate so that shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. The prospectus contains more complete information, including fees and expenses. Please read it carefully before you invest.

www.prudentbear.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tenant Rafe goes off to fight in the Eagle Squadron in the Battle of Britain, heavy-heartedly leaving behind Nurse Evelyn (Kate Beckinsale), whom he met cute as she was jabbing his behind with a giant hypodermic. Naturally, they have fallen madly in love, but off he goes to fly for the Brits, for which he has volunteered, though he tells his dear Danny, whom he always tries to protect, that he is under orders. Evelyn and Rafe exchange love letters aglow with commonplaces until he is shot down over the Channel and presumed dead. By that time, both Evelyn and Danny are stationed at Pearl Harbor, their hearts breaking in unison at the terrible news, and eventually seeking solace with each other.

Michael Bay sees to it that the triangular love story is cunningly crosscut with Japan's preparations for war and the United States' well-meaning but bumbling preparations for defense. We watch FDR (Jon Voight in elaborate but not wholly successful makeup) convoking the military top brass, with only one lowly officer (Dan Aykroyd) vainly proffering the right hunch. We see Admiral Yamamoto (Mako) and his staff, as well as the Japanese rank and file, getting sinisterly ready. There is an attempt at faintly humanizing the Yellow Peril, but such egalitarian impulses are restricted to a savvy minimum.

Then the sneak attack. All stops are pulled out, letting you see where every one of those millions of dollars went; yet the thing left me, if not exactly cold, only lukewarm. It feels more like a spectacular display of technique than a human tragedy; those bodies hurtling through the air look more like stuntmen than corpses; those frantic yet heroic nurses are too studiedly chosen types; those images of innocent civilians—woman hanging laundry, children playing ball—are too calculatedly culled. When Steven Spielberg did the Normandy invasion in *Saving Private Ryan*, you felt the horror as happening to you; in Michael Bay's hands, you remain a spectator.

Oh, the predictability of the love story! If you can't guess what will happen next, and can't foresee the final sequence in full detail, you deserve forfeiting a year's popcorn privileges, as well as receiving a hundred thwacks with a rolled-up fanzine. Which is not to say that the movie doesn't have some modest surprises, such as Admiral Yamamoto delivering the script's most philosophical pacifist line.

■

The sneak attack feels more like a spectacular display of technique than a human tragedy.

■

The acting is strictly standard issue. Ben Affleck's Rafe is the traditional big-brother hero, and Josh Hartnett's Danny the equally traditional kid brother he shields but cannot restrain. They are not actually brothers, which is just as well, else their love for each other, all but surpassing that for Evelyn, might seem incestuous. Pert Kate Beckinsale does a flawless American accent despite being British, but is otherwise competently unremarkable. Ditto Alec Baldwin as Colonel James Doolittle, who does little but display standard staunchness and tough love for his men. Jon Voight is a perfectly adequate stick-figure Roosevelt, and Cuba Gooding Jr., as the black Navy cook who turns anti-aircraft-gunner hero (the historical Dorie Miller), doughtily fulfills the required minimum amount of enlightened multiracialism. As the fun-loving nurse Betty, James King (despite her name, a woman) contributes the prescribed dose of laughter turning into tears.

In the last analysis, *Pearl Harbor* does at least provide computerized wonders, and supplies a high-school lesson in history that may no longer be obtainable in our high schools. The film is perfectly watchable, although what is most interesting about it is the disparity between its technological advances and artistic regression.

■ Now for some passing observations about two recent movies with modest marginal virtues. The distinguished Chinese filmmaker Zhang Yimou has come up with ***The Road Home***, filmed in 1999 but showing in American theaters now, whose simplicity is matched only by its banality. When the thin line between the simple and the simple-minded is transparently transgressed, even the film's one great asset, the beauty and talent of Zhang Ziyi (who was later to play the princess in the ludicrous *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*), cannot redeem the obviousness. It is merely a designer band-aid on hemorrhaging platitudes.

Life in a northern Chinese village during the Cultural Revolution, where political harshness barely impinges on the rigors of the climate and deprivations of the peasants, is recorded with faithfulness and fine cinematography. But dialogue that never rises above the pedestrian, music that imitates the worst defects of typical American scores (cf. *Pearl Harbor*), and acting, such as that of the two principal male characters, that could keep the village supplied for an entire winter with firewood, are too much for even Zhang Ziyi to palliate. *The Road Home* goes down a far-too-beaten path.

■ François Ozon's ***Under the Sand*** is an undistinguished film, part second-rate mystery, part shopworn romance. It concerns a husband who enigmatically vanishes on a beach, and a wife's efforts to find out what happened before she can accept his presumed drowning. She even fantasizes his presence at breakfast or when she is in bed with another man. Not unlike how it begins, the film closes with a gratuitous shaggy-dog ending. But it does bring back two great beauties scarcely tarnished by age, both Anglo-Saxons who have become glories of French cinema. Charlotte Rampling is even allowed to display her not inconsiderable acting talent, while Alexandra Stewart is permitted only to charm. Even if you do not harbor fond memories of these two sparklers in their prime, you may be delightfully rewarded by their gracious presence in this mediocre movie. Then try to seek out Rampling in *Georgy Girl*, *The Damned*, or Woody Allen's *Stardust Memories*; track down Stewart in Louis Malle's masterpiece, *The Fire Within*. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS ■

FRIENDSHIP, ETC.

THE RIGHT STUFF. Date fellow graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, Stanford, M.I.T., and others. www.rightstuffdating.com, or: 800-988-5288.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 610-358-5049 or www.single-booklovers.com

MEET LATIN WOMEN! Mexico–South America. Free fotobrochures! 713-896-9224. www.tlcworldwide.com

LITERARY

UNRAVEL A MYSTERY! Armchair Detectives call for free catalogue of vintage to 70s mystery books. E-mail Cloak & Dagger: siralewker@aol.com or phone 845-371-6739.

"BRAIN TESTS"—The key to every person's rank in the scale of civilization. Free information: 800-489-3157.

BECOME A PUBLISHED AUTHOR. Quality subsidy publisher accepting manuscripts. 800-695-9599.

NEW AUTHORS
PUBLISH YOUR WORK
ALL SUBJECTS CONSIDERED
WRITE OR SEND YOUR MANUSCRIPT TO:
MINERVA PUBLISHING CO.
1001 BRICKELL BAY DR., #2310, MIAMI, FL 33131

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK
One of the most respected subsidy publishers in the nation is accepting manuscripts for quality publication & promotion.
Write: Ivy House, Dept. NR, 5122 Bur Oak Circle
Raleigh, NC 27612 or call 1-800-948-2786
IVY HOUSE
Publishing Group

ORGANIZATIONS

YOU ARE INVITED TO JOIN THE
Churchill Center
Preserving Sir Winston's Legacy
Teaching the Next Generation

Quarterly Journal • Symposia • Conferences • Books
Subscriptions $40 — call for free brochure:
CC, 8016A McKenstry Dr., Laurel, MD 20723
Call toll-free (888) WSC-1874

REAL ESTATE

MOVING TO THE DC AREA? Bruce Majors, Brian Logan Real Estate, 202-255-1969. bpmajors20008@aol.com

PERSONAL

CONSERVATIVE GUY, 74, ENJOYS THEATER, movies, and political conversation. Warm, very financially secure, trim, active. Would like to meet attractive, trim, conservative gal, 55–69, for hopeful, long-term relationship. NR Box 2436.

ATTRACTIVE, OUTGOING, PETITE, never-married Christian businesswoman (an oh-so-young, just-turned-40) in Nashville, who loves traveling, skiing, tennis, entertaining—all the fun/finer things in life. Would love to meet active/attractive like-minded Christian man with a good mind, strong spirit, and a great sense of humor. Rare, I know—but I believe you're out there. Picture preferred. NR Box 2442.

RELIGION

LOOKING FOR AN ORTHODOX CHURCH with Biblical preaching and sacramental worship? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616. www.anglicancatholic.org

SPEAKERS

POLITICAL SATIRIST will put the fun in your function. Star of "An Evening with the Presidents" PBS Specials, Bill has spoken before hundreds of audiences from corporate dinners to Reagan White House staff parties. Conservative. Affordable. Call: 847-698-3364.

FUNNY, CLEAN, CONSERVATIVE COMEDIAN. Perfect speaker for organization/business/social functions. CorpJester. 800-419-0828. www.corpjester.com

TRAVEL

ITALIAN SPECIALISTS. Customized itineraries for individuals, corporate and leisure groups. Toll Free: 877-637-2661. Merano Tours.

SITUATIONS AVAILABLE

WANTED: CONSERVATIVE CATHOLIC PRINCIPAL AND TEACHERS. Great Pines Academy is a new grade school in Houston that seeks to build a school dedicated to conservative principles in education. We will pay the highest salaries for the best teachers. Call 713-974-2244 or see: www.GreatPines.com

DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT: Demand for the Media Research Center's services keeps increasing, our staff keeps growing—and our budget keeps expanding! If you're "D-O-D" material desiring to work in an organization that is making a positive impact for the conservative movement, then the nation's leading media watchdog is waiting to hear from you. MRC is seeking a seasoned and energetic individual who relishes the challenge of implementing, managing, and growing a successful fundraising program. As "D-O-D" you'll manage an experienced fundraising staff and interact with donors and prospects across the U.S. to generate support. Some travel required. Candidates must have 5 years of direct, major-gift fundraising and management experience. Foundation fundraising, capital campaign and planned giving experience also desirable. Excellent written and verbal communications skills are a must.

FUNDRAISERS: The MRC also is seeking qualified individuals with 1–2 years of direct fundraising experience as well as knowledge of the media and public policy. Excellent written and verbal communications skills are a must. Fundraisers will interact with donors and prospects across the U.S. to generate support. Previous work for and knowledge of the conservative movement a plus.

MRC CONTACT INFORMATION: Submit résumé and cover letter to Douglas Mills, Executive Director, MRC, 325 South Patrick St., Alexandria, VA 22314. E-mail: dmills@mediaresearch.org or fax (703) 683-9736. Visit us online at www.MRC.org and www.CNSNews.com

WEBSITES

WEIRDREPUBLIC.COM—to see how things got this screwed up.

WWW.GEOCITIES.COM/GROENADS—GOP and minorities poster. Blood chit reproductions.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word min). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P.O.Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.
Contact: Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Fax: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330.
Deadlines: June 26th; July 10th & 24th.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Latest Profile In Courage

NEW YORK, MAY 22

THE event at the Kennedy Library in Cambridge was pretty heady historical stuff. There at the Windsor Castle of Camelot were the two most illustrious survivors, brother Edward Kennedy and daughter Caroline Kennedy. And what were they doing? Presenting a medal. What kind of a medal? A Profile in Courage Medal. What's that all about? The medal derives from the title of the bestseller by President John F. Kennedy. The book described acts of heroic political courage by dead politicians, among them the senator who voted *not* to convict impeached President Andrew Johnson, thereby saving him from political doom, and the republic from happier presidential prospects. Another was Robert Taft, who was honored for his courage in standing by certain reservations about the Nuremberg war-crimes procedures. The honoree on this occasion was, no less, Gerald Ford. And for what act of courage? For pardoning Richard Nixon.

The appearance by Sen. Kennedy at the presentation was remarkable, not only because he did what he did, but because of the Shrum-free rhetoric he used. Bob Shrum is the other James Carville in the fever swamps of Democratic rhetoric, an endless deposit of spite, hyperbole, and odium, an ever-normal granary for Democrats who want to feast on the subject of Republican racism, fascism, hatred of the poor, and defense of the rich and powerful.

Sen. Kennedy doesn't usually pass the doorman at night without a Shrumload in his quiver, but from all reports, at the Kennedy Library with President Ford at his side, Ted Kennedy was gracious, and even repentant. He moved from the icy criticism of a pardon for Nixon in 1974, to acclaiming it as an act of courage and statesmanship in 2001. Sen. Kennedy said that Mr. Ford, by that pardon, had proved that "politics can be a noble profession." He then spoke truly noble words himself, because it cannot have been easy for him to say what he did. "I was one of those who spoke out against his action then. But time has a way of clarifying past events, and now we see that President Ford was right. His courage and dedication to our country made it possible for us to begin the process of healing and put the tragedy of Watergate behind us."

The episode was especially moving inasmuch as forgiveness is not in the Kennedy tradition. JFK was the author of the famous dictum, "Don't get mad, get even." Sen. Kennedy has time and again been moved to fidelity to that maxim. True, he has very little to fear politically from Gerald Ford, who is not going to run again for president. Nor was his reasoning entirely free from considerations extrinsic to the medal being conferred. We would learn from an interview by the *New York Times*'s Adam Clymer what the rational narrative was that brought Teddy to honor Ford for forgiving Nixon.

Kennedy had read a student essay on the subject, and it caused him to think differently about the pardon because of the "whole impeachment furor" over President Clinton, which absorbed government institutions and "drove from political debate all national and international concerns."

There is a problem, however. If you follow the reasoning here, Mr. Kennedy seems to be saying that the impeachments of presidents should not proceed because of their distracting effect on political institutions and political debate. But manifestly there is a problem left over. The Constitution provides a penalty for high crimes and misdemeanors, and it oughtn't to be thought obviously right to invalidate that provision in the Constitution simply on the grounds that an impeachment uses up a lot of time and attention. The best way to avoid impeachment, obviously, is to avoid committing impeachable offenses. Mr. Kennedy was not clamorous, in 1998, in calling to Mr. Clinton's attention the consequences of his behavior, the lost opportunity for debate, the distractions from the primary concerns of the republic.

"'Habitat for Humanity'? It's always about you guys, isn't it?"

Now all of this could have been avoided if Mr. Clinton, acknowledging his offenses, had resigned his office—in the tradition of British and French and Italians who tend to requite public offenses by simply standing down. What other progression in events was possible? Well, if Clinton had followed the Nixon sequence, a) Clinton would have resigned, and b) President Gore would have pardoned him. There might have been a large fuss by Republicans in protest against such a pardon, but then after that died down, the Kennedy Library could have given Mr. Gore its Profile in Courage award, and all the ends of justice and charity would have been met.

But it was a nice intermediate moment for Sen. Kennedy.

Jeffords the Humble Patriot

NEW YORK, MAY 25

YOU need only know Jim Jeffords to trust his motives, I've heard it said (three times) in 24 hours. This gives a little advantage to those who *don't* know Jim Jeffords, because some of us do not trust his motives. If he is trying to cast himself as an Emersonian individualist, he fails. "Jeffords, and Fellow Vermonters, Emphasize Tradition" was one headline. Individualists care naught for tradition, they care for their conscience. Most of us believe in the supremacy of conscience, but the question before the house, if inquiring about the purity of Mr. Jeffords's motives, is: What was it that triggered this geological shift in conscience?

In his statement on Thursday he reported that he had "serious, substantive reservations about the budget" and that he anticipated disagreeing with the president on "very fundamental issues—the issues of choice, the direction of the judiciary, tax and spending decisions, missile defense, energy and the environment and—" *And?* And what on earth else? Whippoorwills? ". . . and a host of other issues, large and small."

Anyone who has served as a Republican congressman, and then senator, for 27 years has had plenty of time to get the swing of things under the GOP banner. True, under President Clinton,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jeffords voted 75 percent of the time on the Clinton side of divided issues. But that long endurance as a member of the Republican party would have given him, one assumes, time enough to discover irreconcilable institutional differences some time before May 24, 2001. What was it that so suddenly pushed him over the brink?

His followers tell us that he is not a trivial man. Therefore we must rule out the failure of the White House to invite him to tea when a fellow Vermonter got an award as the catalytic agent of his disaffection. He was reputedly annoyed by his exclusion, but surely big men don't let an annoyance engender a political revolution.

He didn't agree with the budget. But the tax-cut part of the budget was reduced from the $1.6 trillion Mr. Bush campaigned for over a period of six months. That reduction, to $1.35 trillion, was in part the doing of Mr. Jeffords himself, which substantiates that he was having an influence of his own on GOP policy. Why didn't he complain last November that the budget was a sundering difference between him and Mr. Bush?

Differences on the judiciary? So Mr. Bush opposes abortion—but unlike Bill Clinton, has never said he would be governed in his nominations to the judiciary only by solidarity on that subject. Missile defense became a national objective 18 years ago under Reagan. Clinton backed the idea, though not expansively. How was Jim Jeffords affronted by the White House's proceeding with a policy for which Mr. Bush had fought as a national candidate? What is it about Bush's energy policy that explains a dissolution of lifelong party ties to the GOP? And—before we forget—just what are the "host of other issues, large and small" that made continued life as a Republican unthinkable for him?

What Mr. Jeffords did, holding the one critical vote, was an act of consummate democratic infidelity. It is one thing to cross the aisle to plead your case for association with the other political party, building that case and aiming to seek validation in a general election. Jeffords didn't do that. He coasted along as a Republican without any significant complaint before, during, and after Bush was nominated and elected.

Then the histrionic challenge loomed up. Whee! Jim Jeffords has the power to reorient the entire political composition of the United States Senate, with changes in the leadership of committees that preside over health, defense, human services, and justice. A man of greater moral responsibility would have declined self-gratification of this kind, submitting his case to deliberative democratic processes; giving his own constituents an opportunity to weigh his case, and others their case; and, indeed, the president, his.

But the story told us nothing more than that to some people temptations are, if not irresistible, irresistible to the second-class among them. "Those who don't know me may have thought I enjoyed the limelight," he said in his press conference. "Nothing could be further from the truth."

Jim Jeffords just hates the limelight, but good, brave, loyal soldier that he is, he'll just put up with it, in the service of his ego.

Squeeze Play

NEW YORK, MAY 29

THE mating dance between Washington and Moscow almost takes us back to the Cold War years—which continue to be informative.

In 1972, there was the ABM Treaty, which is being hallowed as the Constitutional Convention of the missile age. Its postulates are that the signatories, the United States and Russia, should not take measures to defend themselves against missiles headed at each other. That way, the architects reasoned, any temptation to first-strike offense would be mitigated by the knowledge that retaliation was possible. If we couldn't defend ourselves against Russian missiles, we wouldn't undertake to deliver our own.

What has happened, of course, is that there is no longer a balance of terror between the two great superpowers. That, and an albescent technology which holds out the hope, not that a flotilla of missiles could be estopped in mid-air, but that a few missiles could be intercepted. That is the reasoning behind the proposal by the Bush administration, carrying on a vision of Ronald Reagan's, to build an antimissile system, an enterprise very much in the works now, though at the planning stage.

Russia opposes this emphatically. So emphatically that people have begun to forget to ask the basic question: Why should this be so? What have the Russians to lose from any success by the United States in achieving some kind of protection from nuclear missiles?

The answer to this is that the only thing the Russians would stand to lose is a projected world scene in which *everybody* had an antimissile system, resulting in a loss of the military edge Russia now has against potentially fractious nations. Reality tells us that it is inconceivable that Moscow would emerge, in an age of antimissile technology, fearing that Iran or Iraq or India or Japan would proceed aggressively against Russia with a sense of immunity to Russia's huge arsenal of nuclear weapons.

So what is it that Russia genuinely fears? It is the loss of the grand status Russia has enjoyed (and profited from) in the past, as the other nuclear superpower. If the United States, in five years, developed an antimissile technology sufficient to deflect or deter threats from minor potential aggressors, the standing of Russia would be marginalized. This grates on Russian pride.

The American approach to the problem has been Yankee-oriented. We have approached Mr. Putin and told him that the Russians had a whole lot of things the United States would pay cash to get. What is offered up is an idea of an interdependent system, which would provide simultaneous protection to them and to us. Moreover, the development of such a system would call for employing Soviet missile scientists, a dispossessed class since the end of the Cold War, an economic drag on Russia, and a footloose threat to the United States, as there is always a market for scientists who can help little countries, who want to be big threats, to become that.

So far, our inducements to Moscow have not worked, and as June 16 approaches, when Mr. Bush will meet with Mr. Putin in Slovenia, no agenda has been formulated on which to proceed to discuss the problem. Mr. Putin's position is that the ABM Treaty is, in the language of Defense Minister Ivanov, the fundamental brick. "You cannot take a brick out of a wall and hope that it will stand."

Well, of course you can. Depending on your priorities, you can come up with another brick (alternative guarantees to Russia), or decide that you really don't want or need that wall (proceed to rescind the treaty). The principal leverage of Putin isn't his nuclear arsenal and his threat not to diminish the size of it. Nothing Bush proposes to do in any way affects that question or its implications. His leverage is the opinion of our allies. More accurately (is France really an ally?), the opinion of other countries, and the continuing hold liberal international pundits have on American policy.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

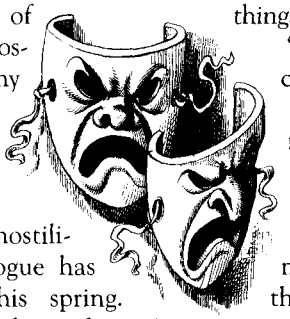
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

Now that *The Wind Done Gone* has been cleared for publication by the court of appeals, I present my own version, *Gone with the Hurricane Activity*.

Scarlett O'Hara was not a physically ideal human being, but men seldom perceived it when informed by her life-enhancing qualities as the Tarleton twins were.

"What does it matter if we were expelled from the college of our choice, Scarlett? The hostilities are going to start any day now. You don't think we'd seek career enrichment with hostilities in progress, do you?"



"Hostilities, hostilities, hostilities! This hostilities dialogue has caveated every party this spring. Besides, there aren't going to be any hostilities."

"Why, honey, after the first-strike shelling situation we instituted at Fort Sumter, the Northern Americans will have to engage in hostilities. Violence always begets violence."

"If you boys don't address another issue I'll go in the house and vent!"

"How about if we tell you a privileged communication? You know Miss Melanie Hamilton who's based in Atlanta? Ashley Wilkes's cousin? Ashley's going to marry her. You know the Wilkeses always have meaningful relationships with their extended family members."

"I'll ask Pa if he has any input."

"Do you mean to tell me, Katie Scarlett O'Hara, that you neither advocate nor condone home ownership? Why, it's the only viable alternative worth living for, worth fighting for, worth dying for, because it's the only comprehensive program for social mobility."

"Oh, Pa, you talk like a Hibernian-American."

"'Tis proud I am to be Hibernian-American, and don't forget, Missy, that you're half Hibernian-American, too, and to anyone with a drop of Hibernian-American blood, the land he or she lives on is like his or her mother."

"Ashley, I—I love you."

"You mustn't say that, Scarlett. It serves no useful purpose."

"But Ashley, I know you have a felt need for me!"

"Yes, I have a felt need for you, but it has no growth potential. Oh, Scarlett, can't we put a voluntary ban on these things?"

"Don't you want a one-on-one commitment with me?"

"I have a one-on-one commitment with Melanie."

"But you just said you had a felt need for me!"

"I misspoke. My dear, why must you make me verbalize things that will only give you a negative self-image? Love isn't enough to construct a positive orientation for two people as polarized as we are. You, who are so autonomous and assertive—"

"Why don't you articulate it, you wimp! You're threatened by me! You'd rather live with that submissive little nurturer and parent a network of passive role players just like her!"

"You mustn't say counterproductive things about Melanie. She's part of my gene pool and we interact."

"She's a pale-faced, mealy-mouthed ninny and I'm unsupportive of her!"

"Scarlett, promise me that if I'm killed and Melanie becomes a single parent, you'll reach out to her."

"Miss Scarlett, I don't have no baby-birthin' skills!"

"The Northern Americans are coming! The Northern Americans are coming!"

"As the Supreme Being is my witness, I'm going to take charge of my life and develop survival techniques so that I will never be without my basic nutrients at any subsequent point in time. If I have to fabricate, prevaricate, discriminate, or stereotype, as the Supreme Being is my witness, I'll never be inadequately nourished again!"

"Ashley, the Northern Americans want three hundred dollars in taxes on Tara."

"Why tell me? You know I can't cope."

"But Ashley, this is a worst-case scenario!"

"What do people do when they're faced with a worst-case scenario? Some initiate direct action to achieve full humanity, while inadequate personalities succumb to the winnowed-out syndrome."

"Ashley, let's relocate! They need non-combat advisers in the Mexican army. We could have a restructuring experience!"

"I can't leave Melanie, she has no job-training opportunities."

"She has no reproductive capabilities either, but I—"

"Scarlett, this is unacceptable!"

"Then . . . we have no options?"

"Nothing except . . . self-esteem."

"Rhett, Ashley and I didn't have a sexual encounter at the lumberyard. We were just building bridges of understanding within a platonic framework."

"Oh, I don't begrudge him recreational sex with you. I can identify with that. After you denied me access to your body I reaffirmed myself with surrogates like Belle. But I do begrudge him your consciousness because our value judgments are so alike. We could have communicated so well, Scarlett, but I couldn't deal with your insecurities so I bonded with Bonnie. I'm into fathering now."

"Promise me?"

"Anything, Melly."

"Look after Ashley for me. See that he gets counseling."

"But Rhett, if you leave me, what will I do about re-entry?"

"Frankly, my dear, it doesn't impact me."

I'll go home to Tara and monitor the situation, she decided. I'll think of some way to reestablish connectedness. After all, tomorrow is another time frame! **NR**

Miss King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We'd Like To Thank All The People Who Took Us Up On Our Guarantee.

Lisa Pampuch
Hilliard, OH

Judy Shields
Lancaster, PA

You're One In A Million.

Since we created the Visa® Lifetime Soil Release Guarantee in 1993, we have averaged only one tablecloth replacement per million sold! We are proud to offer a product that continues to perform use after use after use.

Look for the Visa® starburst logo on the package to be sure you're purchasing a real Visa® brand table linen. You can find Visa® brand table linens at the following stores:

LIFETIME SOIL-RELEASE GUARANTEE
Visa® BY MILLIKEN

• Bed Bath & Beyond • Belk's • Bloomingdale's • Bradlee's • Dayton Hudson • Dillard's • Foley's • Fortunoff • Hecht's •
• JC Penney • Kaufmann's • Kohl's • Linens 'n Things • Luxury Linens • Macy's • Marshall Field's • Stein Mart • Target • Wal-Mart •

For more information, visit www.visatablelinen.com

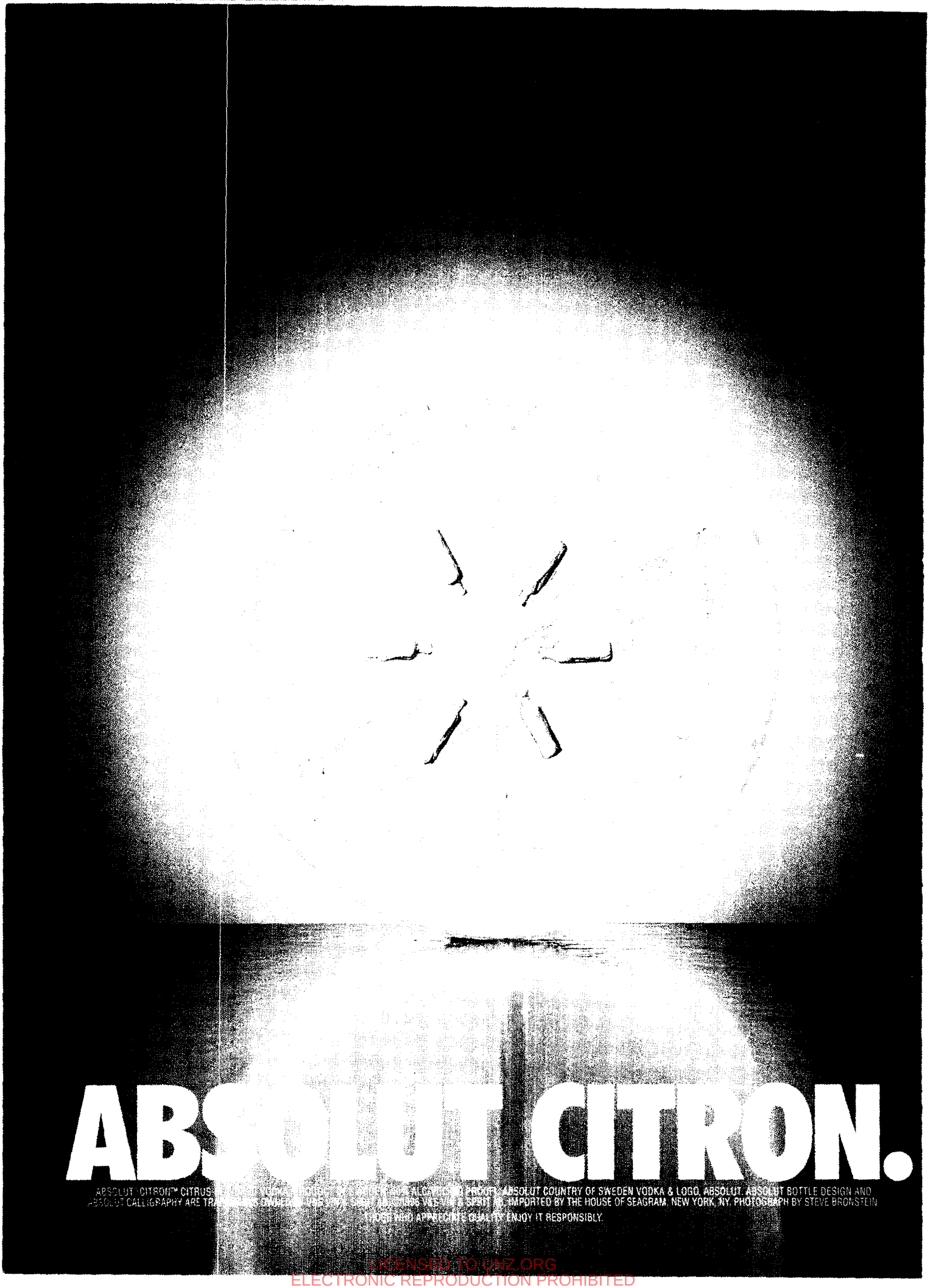
MILLIKEN

* The Lifetime Soil Release Guarantee covers all normal food stains. The Guarantee excludes ink, pigments and dyes, cigarette ash and candle wax.

© 2000 Milliken & Company. ®VISA is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics. ®Dacron is a DuPont registered trademark.

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN USA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


ABSOLUT CITRON.
ABSOLUT CITRON™ CITRUS
ABSOLUT COUNTRY OF SWEDEN VODKA & LOGO, ABSOLUT, ABSOLUT BOTTLE DESIGN AND
ABSOLUT CALLIGRAPHY ARE
SPIRIT IMPORTED BY THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM, NEW YORK, NY. PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE BRONSTEIN
PEOPLE WHO APPRECIATE QUALITY ENJOY IT RESPONSIBLY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED